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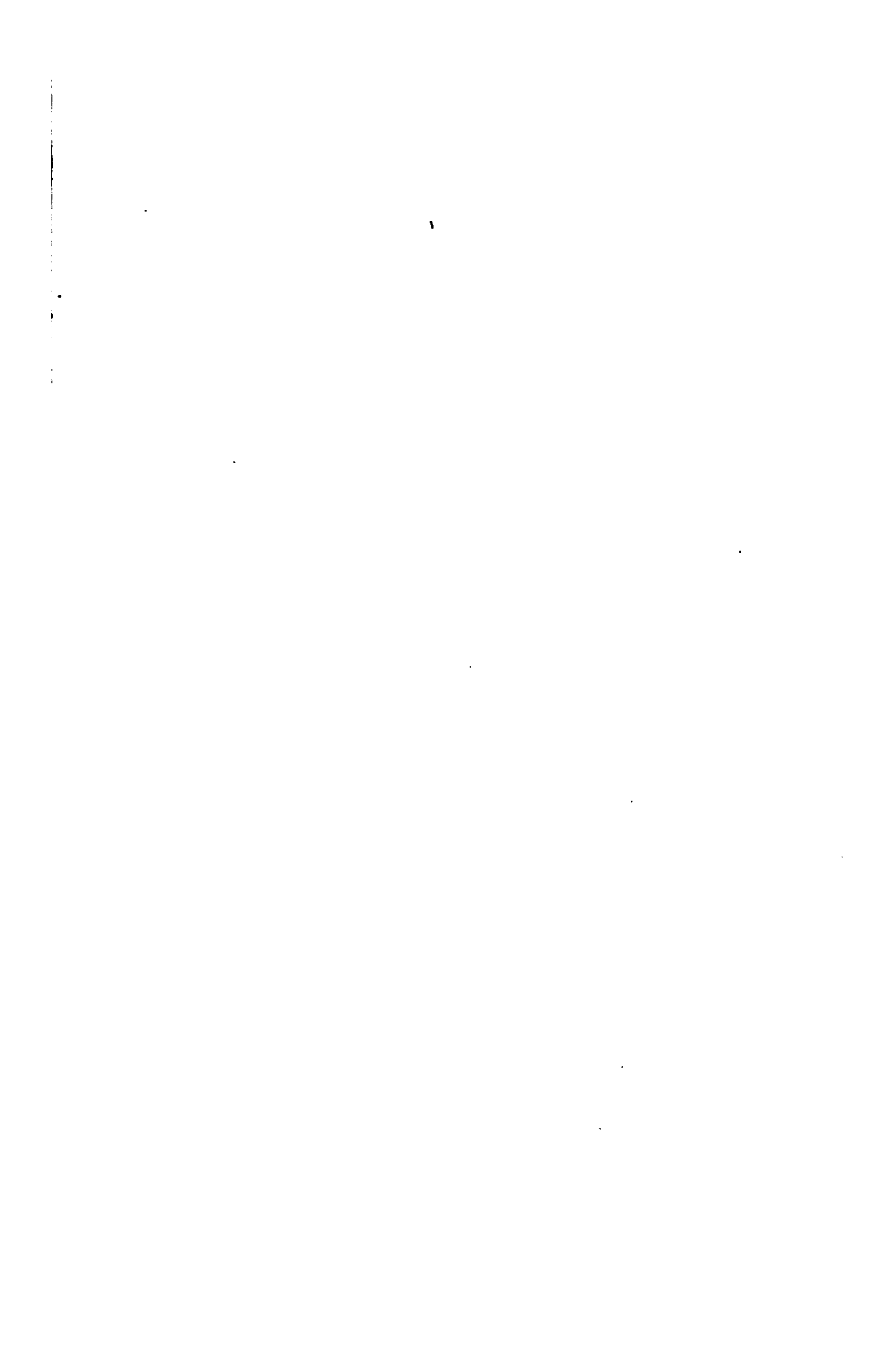
OF THE

University of Michigan.

By Hon. Enoch Pratt

June 18th 1870.

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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

No. CXCVIII. FOR NOVEMBER, 1856.

Writers.

- ARTICLE I. — Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D. . . . Portsmouth, N.H.
„ II. — Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq. . . . New York.
„ III. — Rev. Thomas Hill Waltham.
„ IV. — Rev. J. F. Clarke Boston.
„ V. — Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D. . . . Boston.
„ VI. — Rev. George E. Ellis Charlestown.

„ VII. — Notices of Recent Publications.
„ VIII. — Intelligence.

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 " III. — Rev. George E. Ellis Charlestown.
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2. Address to Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting. 1848.

3. Proceedings of Annual Meeting of Congregational Friends, Waterloo, New York. 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853.

4. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, Waterloo, New York. 1854 and 1855.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JULY, 1856.

ART. I.—THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.*

THE secession from the Friends which has taken the above name in Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, has become sufficiently important to deserve notice. There is also something interesting in the fact of this development of Quakerism on its reformatory and progressive side.

The early Quaker movement was an extraordinary one. Consider how much it included in itself. It was the most radical enterprise ever yet undertaken,—a rebellion without parallel against Church and State. It was at once a spiritual movement, aiming at a loftier piety,—a theological movement, seeking a broader creed,—a reform movement, aiming at the overthrow of war, slavery, and public evils,—a social movement, seeking to inaugurate a better mode of life.

It would be easy, were it necessary, to justify this

* 1. *Minutes and Proceedings of the Green-Plain Yearly Meeting of Friends, who have adopted the Congregational Order of Church Government.* 1849–1851.

2. *Address to Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting.* 1848.

3. *Proceedings of Annual Meeting of Congregational Friends, Waterloo, N. Y.* 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853.

4. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, Waterloo, N. Y.* 1854 and 1855.

5. *Proceedings of Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends.* 1854 and 1855.

statement with ample proofs, taken from the writings of the early Friends. The spiritual character of their system showed itself in their doctrine of the inward light. Like the mystics of every age and every church, like William Law and Madame Guion, like Erigena and St. Bernard, like Bonaventura, Tauler, and Gerson, they taught a substantial and immediate communion with God; they believed that religion consists in the immanence of God in the soul, and religious faith in recognizing this immanence. Dissatisfied both with the formalism of the Church of England and the dogmatism of the Puritans, the founder of Quakerism sought for a more substantial and interior religion through a direct communion with God, for which the mediation of the Church and the creed were not essential. Barclay says, that "where the true inward knowledge of God is, through the revelation of his Spirit, there is all; neither is there an absolute necessity of any other." This faith in the constant presence of the Comforter in the soul created a piety more vital and profound than that of the surrounding churches. But it naturally led at once to a reformed theology. The new Life in the soul was also a new Light. Every doctrine of the Church was attacked by it; for though the Friends did not make it their direct aim to reform theology, this was a natural consequence of their fundamental principle. It modified their view of human depravity, of the atonement, of the Trinity. In practical affairs, the Quaker movement immediately showed itself as a very radical reform. It attacked all social customs. It refused to take oaths, and so seemed to shake the foundation of society as upheld by government and united by law. It rejected public worship of the usual sort, renounced baptism and the Lord's Supper, denied the duty of keeping the Sabbath, rejected a clergy as a class distinguished from the laity, and so seemed to shake the foundations of the Christian Church. It refused to conform to social usages of dress and address, kept on its hat in the presence of dignitaries, said Thee and Thou, and thus displeased the whole community. It refused to fight, would pay no tax for the support of war, and so seemed to renounce patriotism and the defence of one's country. Before there was any Antislavery Society, the Quaker,

preached against slavery; before there was any Prisoner's Friend Society, he sought to abolish capital punishment and imprisonment for debt; before there was a Peace Society, he renounced war; before there was a Woman's Rights Society, he placed woman on a level with man, and called on them to speak in his meeting, and to preach in public. Thus radical and broad was the movement of the early Quakers. It really involved in itself almost every subsequent reform.

But however free the first movement of any religious sect or party may be, it is apt very soon to stiffen and harden into a routine. That which was first done from an inward impulse, continues to be done as a matter of form. By and by the body which at first rejoiced in its individual character, and loved its separate existence, begins to desire to be again like others. Of late years the Quakers in England and the United States have cultivated Orthodoxy. Many of them, receding from the early doctrine of their founders, conform much more nearly to the popular theology in regard to the inspiration of the Bible, the Trinity, and the atonement. This naturally led to a reaction in the opposite direction. The movement of Elias Hicks turned more particularly upon the question of the Trinity and Unity, but presently led to other things, and among the rest to the progressive religious movement of which we have now to speak. Originating with the Hicksite Friends, it now embraces many persons hitherto belonging to other sects and to no sect, who have associated together on a pretty distinctly defined platform of perfect freedom of religious opinion, and united action in regard to personal improvement and active usefulness. From a gentleman connected with the body from the first, we have the following account of its origin.

"The whole matter may be summed up in a few words. The Friends, like every other sect, have been divided in spirit into two classes, viz. : — 1. The Conservatives, the ruling party, — those who strenuously resisted all radical changes; who glorified the fathers, adhering more closely to the letter than to the spirit of their works; who compromised the former testimonies of the Society against slavery, and resisted by all possible means the antislavery movement, and other and kindred efforts for the amelioration of popular customs, laws, and institutions. 2. The

Reformers, — more especially the Antislavery Reformers, — who struggled earnestly to assist the Society in practical labors for the overthrow of slavery. The latter, in many cases, were made to feel the rod of ecclesiastical proscription and outlawry. Conservative Quaker preachers denominated Abolitionists as irreligious and worldly men, whose purpose it was to destroy the ancient landmarks. The disownment of Isaac T. Hopper (see his Life by Mrs. Child), and of that sweet-spirited and deeply religious man, Charles Marriott, in New York, for the offence of belonging to the American Antislavery Society, may be taken as an example of what was done by the rulers in the Quakers' Israel in different parts of the country. The said rulers maintained that the Quakers were a 'select people,' and that it was a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Discipline, for members to unite with those not Friends in works of charity and reform. They were allowed, however, without molestation, to join political parties, and such benevolent associations as brought fame and reputation to the Society. The rule was applied only to those who went into *unpopular* reforms. The contest between these parties went on, until the Reformers were compelled to choose between dishonorable submission to ecclesiastical tyranny, and the organization of new associations. The form of organization which prevailed among the Friends afforded many facilities for the exercise of despotic authority. The Yearly Meetings have full power over the Discipline, and to them the Quarterly Meetings were held directly responsible, while the Monthly Meetings, in their turn, were answerable to the Quarterly.

"The first movement for a new organization was made by the Friends of Green-Plain Quarterly Meeting, in Ohio. This meeting was a part of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, which brought the whole weight of its power upon it to compel submission. The Reformers constituted a very large majority of this Quarterly Meeting, and, thus pressed, they took refuge in a new organization, framing it upon Congregational principles, — that is, giving each local congregation full power to manage its own affairs, and holding larger meetings only for good fellowship and union in philanthropic and religious objects. This meeting was formed, I think, in 1848, and its name and style was 'Green-Plain Yearly Meeting of Friends who have adopted the Congregational Order of Church Government.' Owing to extensive emigration to the West, this meeting is now extinct, though some of the local congregations sympathizing therewith yet remain.

"Next in order comes the Waterloo Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends.

"Next is the Ohio Yearly Meeting, formed in 1852.

"The Michigan Yearly Meeting was next formed.

"The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, though the youngest, is yet the most numerous and efficient of all."

One of the features of this movement, it will be seen, is that it has adopted a Congregational principle of church government. This is significant of a tendency which showed itself in England and America in the seventeenth century, as one of the first results of the second Reformation. Papacy, Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism are, in the Church, the same things that Royalty, Aristocracy, Republicanism, and Democracy are in the State. But the seventeenth century was not ready for this form of government, and consequently there has been a long reaction in the Protestant Church in favor of less democratic institutions. The first, or Protestant Reformation, did not tend to Congregationalism, but rather to Episcopacy; — in England being pure Episcopacy; in the Lutheran Church, a mixture of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism; in Sweden and Denmark, a system varying very little from the Roman Catholic, except in the absence of the Pope. But the second, or Puritan Reformation, tended to Presbyterianism, or the government of the Church by the whole body of the clergy. In this system the laity have scarcely any influence, and it is a church of the clergy rather than of the people. But Congregationalism, in its strict form, does not recognize the distinction between the clergy and the laity. The Cambridge Platform declares that "there may be the essence and being of a church without any officers." Ordination, according to this Platform, is not a sacrament conferring any spiritual character. "We account it nothing else," says the Cambridge Platform, "but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the church whereunto he had right before by election." It declares that "imposition of hands may be performed by the brethren"; "for if they may elect officers," it says, "which is the greater, and wherein the substance of the office doth consist, they may much more impose hands in ordination, which is less, and but the accomplishment of the other." Thus they gave to each church the power of continuing its

own existence, which it could have on no other principle, and struck at the root of the principle of Sacramental Succession. To complete their work, they ordained that a man ceasing to be an officer of a particular church *ceased to be a clergyman*, and had no right to perform an official act until regularly chosen for another church, in which case he ought to be again ordained. By this declaration, the whole distinction between clergy and laity was struck away. But the Congregational churches have not acted up to this, their own principle, but have always had as much of a clergy as other churches. They have, however, maintained the independent principle of church government, although they have not succeeded in extending its domain, since the beginning of the eighteenth century. But we may be sure of this, — that whenever a body arises in the Church seeking a broader activity, it will pretty certainly plant itself on the Congregational principle of church government. It must necessarily do so in order to escape the oppressive tendencies and the narrow spirit which come from an authoritative union of churches. Such, therefore, was the action of the Friends who, in New York and Ohio, took the name of Congregational Friends, but who now are generally known as Progressive Friends. But the main point of their testimony is in behalf of various moral and social reforms, or applied Christianity.

The idea which the Progressive Friends have in view appears very plainly in the annual reports which now lie before us of the New York Yearly Meetings for eight years back, the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting for the last three years, and the Ohio Yearly Meeting. All of them contain testimonies in regard to Temperance, Slavery, the Rights of Woman, Amusements, War and Peace, the Treatment of Criminals, the Use of Tobacco, and the like. They are in correspondence with distinguished persons in different parts of the country, whose letters are printed in these reports. They appear to be well provided with zeal and earnestness in behalf of their ideas. Their Yearly Meetings are well attended, and they have the ardor of a new people.

This body of Progressive Friends is trying a great experiment, namely, Can a Christian denomination exist without a distinct theology of any kind? And again,

Can a Christian denomination take an active part in the different reforms of the day? The experiment is certainly worth trying. For our own part, we do not believe in the necessity of a fixed theology in a church. There must, no doubt, be some *common conviction* as the basis of union; there must be some central belief, and some standard to which to appeal. Roman Catholics have the Bible and Tradition, and an Infallible Church to decide what these teach. Protestants have the Bible, and the Creed, and a majority in the church, to decide what these mean. Unitarians have the Bible, and each man's reason to decide what it teaches. But these Friends go a step farther, and take all nature and history as the source of truth, and individual reason as its rule. Now this may well constitute a church of seekers and students; but how is it as regards a church of believers? Can such a church be said to have any belief at all? and if no belief, can they be a teaching church in any sense? How can those teach who have nothing to say? And if they have nothing to teach, have they any evangelical or missionary character? have they any gospel,—any method by which to save the souls of men? Have they, in fact, anything to do except to discuss and debate? In reply to this, the Progressive Friends would doubtless say, We are more of a missionary church than any other, more evangelical than any other; for our mission is to carry to the world practical Christianity; we preach a gospel of practical goodness. But the question returns, *What* goodness? *what* practical Christianity? Practical measures are based on speculative ideas; there can be no union as to practice where there is not first a union as to principle. There may be a temporary union which shall agree to oppose intemperance and slavery. But how does it follow that a man who is willing to act with others against slavery, shall also be willing to act with them against the use of tobacco? Does it follow that, because a man is opposed to capital punishment, he shall also be in favor of the rights of woman? For a time men may be led by their interest in leading reformers to follow them into the various reforms which they advocate. But evidently, unless it can be shown that there is a clear connection among them all, there

must soon be a divergence of action, because there will soon come a difference of opinion. Even in the Antislavery movement, how many sects there are agreeing in the end, but differing as to the means. There is the party of Mr. Garrison, who hold the Constitution of the United States to be a pro-slavery document; and who think, that, by supporting it, and even by voting under it, they are supporting slavery, and who therefore demand a dissolution of the Union. Then there is the party headed by Gerritt Smith, which believes the Constitution to be an antislavery instrument, and that it is the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the slaveholding States. And thirdly, there is the Republican party, who believe the Constitution a mixed instrument, which is in the main antislavery, but in some particulars pro-slavery, — which does not think it has a right to abolish slavery in the Slave States, but thinks it ought to be abolished by the general government in the Territories. Now, if these three parties are unable to work together, when they have the same end, how can it be expected that a body can remain united who have so many different objects in view?

One way of obviating this difficulty, and the most obvious way, is to have it made a condition of union with the body, that one shall be willing to do, or to abstain from doing, certain things. Instead of making it a condition of admission into the church, that one shall hold certain opinions, the condition would be, that one should do certain actions. But this test of fellowship is more objectionable than is belief of doctrines. The creed will often slumber in the church, doing no one any harm; but this practical test would interfere very unfavorably with Christian liberty, and would put a stop to Christian progress. It is evident that any such condition of membership would be in fact a creed. The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, in its invitation for 1855, says that "the chief characteristic of the Progressive Friends is, that they prescribe no system of theological belief as a test of membership." But to require those who join them to unite with them in opposition to slavery, intemperance, war, capital punishment, the denial of the equal rights of woman, &c., is to prescribe a system of ethical belief as a test of membership. In

its invitation for this year it says, "The Progressive Friends have no creed as the basis of association." Last year, the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting adopted a memorial to Congress, requesting it to take immediate steps for the abolition of the army and navy. There are those who are opposed to war, and who believe in human brotherhood, but who do not think it right to abolish the army and navy. No doubt such persons would be admitted members of this body; and thus the resolutions adopted would represent, not the sentiments of the body, but of the majority of the body. But if this majority was thoroughly in earnest, it would hardly tolerate opposition to any of its practical measures, and those who differed with it must either be silent or must leave the body. But this would conflict with the principle which they evidently hold very dear,—the principle of individual freedom. They say, in their exposition of sentiments for 1855: "As a Yearly Meeting, we disclaim all disciplinary authority, whether over individual members or local associations. We shall, from time to time, declare our sentiments on such subjects as may demand our attention; but they will be armed with no other force than that which our moral influence may impart." But this would have only the weight which belongs to the resolutions adopted by the majority of a convention, and we all know how small is the influence coming from such a testimony. Witness the resolutions adopted year after year by the Legislatures of the States, which are forgotten almost before they are printed; witness the resolutions adopted at the meetings of political parties, intended merely for use at the next election. The great difficulty is to combine individual freedom of opinion in any religious or philanthropic association with any active, practical purpose. If a church or a society is to unite merely for speculative objects, if it is to be merely a meeting for discussion, there may no doubt be perfect freedom there. But as soon as it wants to do anything, it finds it impossible to tolerate difference of opinion within itself. Thus it would be hard for the American Antislavery Society to retain among its active members those who believed in the Constitution and the Union. It would be hard for the Peace Society, after it had decided to oppose *all*

war, to allow those who still believe in defensive war to take part in its affairs. A temperance society, desiring to make men sign a pledge of total abstinence, could not allow those who thought it best for men to drink light wines to co-operate at its meetings. For as fast as the society did its work of producing conviction, so fast would these dissenting brothers undo that work again.

These are the difficulties which lie in the way of every association that wishes to combine free thought and philanthropic action. The difficulty exists only as regards associations, not as regards individuals. An individual can think freely on every subject, and, when he wishes to act, can join the particular association with which he agrees. He may be radical as regards slavery, very conservative as regards woman's rights; — on the question of war, he may agree with the ultra party, and be a non-resistant; but as regards temperance, he may belong to those who think it right to drink in moderation. All he has to do is to think for himself, and when he wishes to act, to join the special sect with which he agrees. When he has joined the philanthropic association, he has indeed renounced, for the time he belongs to it, his freedom of opinion; but only on that particular subject, and while he remains a member.

Here seems to be the difficulty. We shall rejoice with all our hearts if this society shall succeed in solving the problem which we have suggested. We, too, have longed to see a church which should be at once practical and progressive; which should be liberal without being lukewarm; which should take up every question of humanity, not merely for investigation and discussion, but also for action. We too have longed to see a religious union within which the mind should be constantly stimulated to new thought and the freest inquiry, in which the heart should be fed by prayer and the outpouring of the deepest spiritual experience, and in which shoulder should be placed firmly to shoulder, and hand grasped strongly in hand, in the closest union for all Christian uses. Conflict of thought, communion of heart, co-operation in action, — this is what we need to realize. If the Progressive Friends will help us to realize this, we shall heartily thank them. But it is necessary

that the difficulty should be distinctly seen in its full extent, before we can hope to overcome it.

We hope that the Progressive Friends will go forward in their undertaking, and plant everywhere small local associations, which shall meet together for purposes of piety and charity, and send delegates every year to the General Yearly Meeting. We believe in trying. Speculation concerning the Church is good, but edification is better. The exposition of sentiments for 1855 says well, "We must build, as well as destroy." We are satisfied that destructive reform is a poor thing, as surely it is a very easy thing, when compared with that which is constructive. Accordingly, we desire to see encouragement and aid given to all such enterprises as the one before us.

J. F. C.

ART. II. — THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE SEA.*

WHEN President John Quincy Adams, in his first message to Congress, proposed an appropriation for the establishment of a National Observatory, the occasion was eagerly seized by party spirit to charge a fore-doomed administration with extravagant and unconstitutional views. The very language of the chief magistrate was criticised by a taste sharpened by hostility; and the expression "light-houses of the skies" was repeated far and wide in tones of contempt.

Years passed by, and the structure for proposing which the President had been so severely blamed, was erected at the suggestion of one of his successors, without discussion in Congress, and without even the knowledge, on the part of that august assembly, of what they were doing. The administration modestly asked for a building to accommodate certain charts and instruments. The necessary appropriation was made, and the building rose. It was surmounted by that peculiar dome,

* *The Physical Geography of the Sea.* By M. F. MAURY, LL. D., Lieut. U. S. Navy. Third Edition, enlarged and improved. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1855. 8vo. pp. 287.

proportioned rather to the demands of science than to those of architectural 'grace, which marks the "lighthouse of the skies," as the lantern does that of the ocean. The endowment of the institution presented no difficulty. Of course, persons must be employed to take care of the "charts and instruments." As the observatory had been erected under the name of a Depository of Charts, so was a philosopher worthy of the trust employed to superintend it, under the disguise of a "Lieut. U. S. Navy."

Singular as this history is, it is not less strange that a board of officers from the same navy that is honored by Lieutenant Maury's talents, should have proposed to place that officer on a "retired list," as if his place at Washington, instead of being one of most useful and honorable labor, were one of indolent withdrawal from the service of his country. Well has the injustice been rebuked by the general voice.

We have, in the work before us, a portion of the results of this distinguished officer's labors, in a department of natural science connected with his profession as a sailor. Some of the details of those results are embodied in the "Wind and Current Charts" of the same author; while a corps of hundreds of observers in national and commercial vessels, are carrying on their investigations for the better understanding of the subject,—all under the guidance of the "Lieutenant in the Navy" who has charge of the "charts and instruments" at Washington.

We have selected this volume for comment, not only as interesting in itself and honorable to American science, but because of its connection with religion. Breathing throughout a spirit of deep reverence to the Creator, whose "wonders in the deep" are its theme, it displays those wonders in a manner so clear and so striking, that it seems impossible for an unprejudiced mind not to be impressed and elevated by the contemplation.

The subject first spoken of in the work is "The Gulf Stream," and the first chapter opens with a striking description of that remarkable current.

"There is a river in the ocean. In the severest droughts it never fails, and in the mightiest floods it never overflows. Its banks and its bottom are of cold water, while its current is of

warm. The Gulf of Mexico is its fountain, and its mouth is in the Arctic Seas. It is the Gulf Stream. There is in the world no other such majestic flow of waters. Its current is more rapid than the Mississippi or the Amazon."

The question of the cause of the Gulf Stream is ably discussed, and decided on strong evidence. The different degree of saltness in the torrid zone and in the temperate regions, and the diurnal motion of the earth, are, by reasoning at once ingenious and clear, shown to be among the principal causes of this wonderful ocean river.

The second chapter discusses the influence of the Gulf Stream upon climate. Most ingeniously and strikingly is this influence illustrated. A few quotations will exhibit at once the grandeur of Lieutenant Maury's theme, and the religious spirit in which it is investigated.

"As the waters in these two caldrons" (the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico) "become heated, they are borne off by the Gulf Stream, and are replaced by cooler currents through the Caribbean Sea; the surface water, as it enters here, being 3° or 4°, and that in depth 40° cooler than when it escapes from the Gulf. Taking only this difference in surface temperature as an index of the heat accumulated there, a simple calculation will show that the quantity of specific heat daily carried off by the Gulf Stream from those regions, and discharged over the Atlantic, is sufficient to raise mountains of iron from zero to the melting point, and to keep in flow from them a molten stream of metal greater in volume than the waters daily discharged from the Mississippi River. Who, therefore, can calculate the benign influence of this wonderful current upon the climate of the South? In the pursuit of this subject, the mind is led from nature up to the Great Architect of nature; and what mind will the study of this subject not fill with profitable emotions? Unchanged and unchanging alone, of all created things, the ocean is the great emblem of its everlasting Creator. 'He treadeth upon the waves of the sea,' and is seen in the wonders of the deep. Yea, 'He calleth for its waters, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth.'" — pp. 49, 50.

The influence of the Gulf Stream is felt in the West of Europe, which is washed by its spent waters, producing there a climate much more mild than that of the corresponding shores of this continent. Says our author:—

“Every west wind that blows crosses the stream on its way to Europe, and carries with it a portion of this heat to temper there the northern winds of winter. It is the influence of this stream upon climate that makes Erin the ‘Emerald Isle of the Sea,’ and that clothes the shores of Albion in evergreen robes; while in the same latitude, on this side, the coasts of Labrador are fast bound in fetters of ice.” — pp. 48, 49.

In the third chapter, on “The Atmosphere,” the wonderful system is described by which the winds, the messengers of Divine Power, convey the fertilizing clouds from zone to zone. This subject, further pursued in the subsequent chapters, is one of the most suggestive of religious thought. It sometimes creates a feeling of wonder, to look on an artificial representation of the globe, and observe how great is the portion of its surface given to the ocean. Is it not strange, we say, that, since man is the noblest of God’s creatures here, that part of the globe which is adapted to his residence should be comparatively so small, — that about three fourths of the world should be overspread by the ever-moving mass of waters, on whose mighty bosom man can, by the highest achievements of his mind, hold but a temporary and perilous existence? Look on the vast expanse of the Pacific, stretching for ten thousand miles from continent to continent; — does it not appear, says human presumption, that another continent yet might well have divided those waters, and furnished a home for millions more of human beings than the earth can now sustain? To such an inquiry it is the privilege of Science to reply, and therein to exercise her noblest office,

“And vindicate the ways of God to man.”

But for that wide and seemingly useless expanse of ocean, the land itself would be uninhabitable. That is the grand reservoir from which proceed those supplies of moisture, which, rising at first in exhalations, then wafted by the wind as clouds, descend at length in showers of rain and snow, and finally, in the form of rivers, flow onward to join again the ocean from which they at first proceeded. The investigations of Lieutenant Maury have enabled him to connect meteorological effects in one region with causes in another, and often a far distant one. Thus, it appears to be well estab-

lished that by far the greater part of the moisture which descends on our mountains and fertilizes our valleys, which forms the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence with its lakes, and all the other streams of North America,—that all this moisture is derived from the grand and distant reservoir of the South Pacific Ocean. Dry up that reservoir of the Southwestern Sea, and the Mississippi would lose its majesty, the great lakes recede from their borders, and our whole land mourn for the want of those showers by which it is now continually refreshed. Thus does the seeming superabundance of waters but minister to the land the means it needs to fit it for the residence of animals and man; and thus, even where there is the appearance of most lavish expenditure, is the Divine economy most gloriously vindicated.

A confirmation of the views presented in the third chapter is given in the fourth, entitled “Red Fogs and Sea Dust.” It appears from this that, under the microscope of Professor Ehrenberg, the Infusoria scattered by the winds on the southern regions of Europe, from Malta to the Tyrol, exhibit South American forms; and our author concludes that these Infusoria came from the plains of the Lower Orinoco, by a similar path to that by which the water evaporated from the South Pacific Ocean is brought to irrigate the continent of North America.

In the fifth chapter, the discovery, by Faraday, of the magnetic property of oxygen, is made the basis of ingenious speculations upon the manner in which that mysterious and powerful agency of magnetism affects the circulation of the winds.

The subject next treated of is “The Currents of the Sea.” Among the interesting facts here brought forward are the existence of a constant under-current westward through the Straits of Gibraltar, opposite to the upper current, which is well known to be ever pouring inward from the Atlantic;—the existence of similar currents at the entrance of the Red Sea, and in the Polar regions;—the “Gulf Stream” of the Pacific, along the coast of China;—the non-existence, on the other hand, of an old terror to mariners, in the form of a permanent and powerful current westward from Cape St. Roque, on the coast of Brazil.

The seventh chapter treats of "The Open Sea in the Arctic Ocean," the existence of which is confirmed by the evidence adduced to prove the opposing north and south currents of the Polar regions.

In chapter eighth, the great mystery of "The Salts of the Sea" is explored, and with most interesting results. We observe how, while some agencies of nature are employed in increasing the quantity of salt in the ocean, other agencies — among them that of the coral insects, in their minute but magnificent work — are engaged in removing the superabundance; while the currents already described prevent any injurious inequality in the diffusion of salt through the ocean. In this chapter occurs the following striking description, extracted from the narrative of an Arctic voyage, by Captain Duncan, of the English whale-ship Dundee. It is given to illustrate the power of the currents in the Polar regions, which bear along the icebergs.

"The dreadful apprehensions that assailed us yesterday, by the near approach of the iceberg, were this day most awfully verified. About three P. M., the iceberg came in contact with our floe, and in less than one minute it broke the ice; we were frozen in quite close to the shore; the floe was shivered to pieces for several miles, causing an explosion like an earthquake, or one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance fired at the same moment. The iceberg, with awful but majestic grandeur, (in height and dimensions resembling a vast mountain,) came almost up to our stern, and every one expected it would have run over the ship." — p. 163.

The ninth chapter describes to us the Equatorial Ring of Clouds, whose friendly shade Divine Wisdom has interposed between the sun and the regions most subjected to its heat.

"The Geological Agency of the Winds," is the subject next discussed. We cannot, in this brief view, give more than a reference to the beautiful and convincing course of reasoning by which the phenomena of the present depressed basins of the Dead and Caspian Seas are connected with grand geological changes in the distant continent of South America; and by which the existence of that continent is shown to be the cause of the want of irrigation in Africa. The old rustic who maintained that Tenterden steeple was the cause of

Goodwin Sands, might have taken courage to bear the laugh of those around him, if he could have foreseen that Science herself would point out a connection between the Andes and the Desert of Sahara.

But a more serious thought is well suggested to us by the philosopher who unfolds these wonders.

"Here then," says Lieutenant Maury, "we see harmony in the winds, design in the mountains, order in the sea, arrangement in the dust, and form for the desert. Here are signs of beauty and works of grandeur; and we may now fancy, that, in this exquisite system of adaptations and compensations, we can almost behold, in the Red and Mediterranean Seas, the very waters that were held in the hollow of the Almighty hand when he weighed the Andes and balanced the hills of Africa in his comprehensive scales." — pp. 197, 198.

Chapter XI. discusses "The Depths of the Ocean," describes the difficulties that have been encountered in ascertaining them, and the most successful instrument for this purpose, invented by Mr. Brooke, of the United States navy.

In the next chapter, on "The Basin of the Atlantic," an account is given of interesting results already obtained by means of this instrument. Specimens of the soil, from the depth of more than two miles, were examined with the microscope by Professor Bailey of West Point. He testifies that "they are chiefly made up of perfect little calcareous shells," thus furnishing a new demonstration of that wonderful economy in nature which fills creation with life.

"The Winds" form the subject of the thirteenth chapter, which is followed by others on "The Climates of the Ocean," "The Drift of the Sea," on "Storms," and "Routes"; after which "A Last Word" invites the co-operation of all navigators in the observations which are producing such valuable results. In the chapter on "Routes," an animated account is given of the voyages made by four American vessels, at the same time, from New York to California. This race, of fifteen thousand miles in length, and three months in duration, is brought forward to illustrate how well the paths of the ocean are now understood. The navigators, "like travellers on the land, pass and repass, fall in with and recognize each other by the way." (p. 209.)

We take our leave of this most interesting volume, thankful for the evidence it affords of the scientific attainments of the officers, both in our navy and commercial marine; and still more, that in their noble daring, and ingenious research, they recognize with a devout spirit the proofs spread all around them of the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. In illustration, alike of this spirit and of the influence of Lieutenant Maury's researches, we quote a few lines from a letter, published in his appendix, from William L. Phinney, captain of the ship "Gertrude."

"For myself, I am free to confess that for many years I commanded a ship, and although never insensible to the beauties of nature upon the sea or land, I yet feel that, until I took up your work, I had been traversing the ocean blindfolded. I did not think, I did not know, the amazing and beautiful combination of all the works of Him whom you so beautifully term 'the Great First Thought.'

"I feel that, aside from any pecuniary profit to myself from your labors, you have done me good as a man. You have taught me to look above, around, and beneath me, and recognize God's hand in every element by which I am surrounded. I am grateful for this personal benefit. Your remarks on this subject, so frequently made in your work, cause in me feelings of the greatest admiration, although my capacity to comprehend your beautiful theory is very limited." — p. 287.

S. G. B.

ART. III. — UNITARIANISM AND ORTHODOXY ON THE ATONEMENT.

Pursuing our general review of a half-century of the controversy still in agitation between the divided representatives of the old Congregational body of New England, we have summed up the views of the two parties on two of their great doctrinal issues. It remains for us to follow the same method in dealing with what we have already defined as the third of the chief topics of discussion and division. This concerns the Scripture doctrine of the Atonement: the agency of Jesus Christ in securing the reconciliation between God and men;

the need of such an agency, the mode of its operation and of its efficacy.

“Unitarians deny the doctrine of the Atonement,” is the judgment pronounced against us by the Orthodox. “Unitarians believe the doctrine of the Atonement,” is our earnest, self-convinced, and solemn assertion, made in answer to that judgment. What then? Is it a question of veracity between us, involving a slander or falsehood on the one side, and a plea of self-defence on the other? No! There may be misunderstanding, there may be misrepresentation, but we make no charge of intentional falsifying. Is it then a question as to the meaning of a word, so that, while the parties respectively affirm or deny, they do not affirm and deny the same thing, because they attach quite different significations to the same word on which the whole issue hangs? There certainly is involved in the controversy much difference of opinion and much debate as to the meaning of a few very important words, especially of the word *atonement*. The controversy some years ago turned far more than it does now upon the meaning of that one word. Unitarians insisted, that the word *atonement*, according to its etymology and its actual use at the time when our English version of the Bible adopted it, signified *reconciliation*. Unitarians also urged, that a false view of the Scripture doctrine had connected an erroneous association with the word *atonement*, had in fact changed its popular signification; and that the word *reconciliation* ought to be substituted for it in the only place where it occurs in the New Testament. Orthodox controversialists stoutly and obstinately denied these assertions. Happily, however, that point may now be regarded as yielded by them. So far, the controversy as a strife about words has abated. But while the embarrassment of one merely verbal dispute is set aside, the controversy is still largely and almost hopelessly complicated with questions as to the signification and the interpretation of terms of language. Charity, therefore, requires of us to explain that, when the Orthodox so flatly and positively affirm that Unitarians *do not* believe the doctrine of the Atonement, in spite of the assertion of the Unitarians that they do believe it, the Orthodox mean simply that Unitarians do not accept *their*

interpretation of the Scripture doctrine. The Orthodox, taking for granted the infallibility of their decision in scholarship, criticism, and matters of open debate in the articles of Christian faith, identify their conclusions with Scripture doctrine. They hold Unitarians not only to a belief of the Scripture doctrine of Atonement, but also to a reception of their construction and interpretation of that doctrine. It is thus that an issue is opened between the two parties, and fairly opened. The controversy has so far warranted its own just grounds and occasion, as to prove that the assurance heretofore exhibited, in quietly taking for granted the identity of Orthodoxy and of Scripture doctrine, had better give way to the more becoming and deliberate processes of patient, serious, and humble examination. Disciples of Christ, as sincere and faithful as any of those whose names shine on the records of the Church Universal: scholars as profoundly versed in the mysteries of tongues and interpretation as any of those whom Orthodoxy has accepted for oracles: and humble, obedient, and hopeful disciples of the faith in every condition of human life, have found a glorious and merciful doctrine of Atonement in the Scriptures, quite different from that which Orthodoxy teaches. The issue, then, is not whether the Orthodox speak truth or untruth when they affirm that Unitarians do not believe the atonement; but the issue is simply and solely this,—What is the Scripture doctrine of the atoning work of Christ? If the Orthodox have any advantage over the Unitarians, as respects sincerity of purpose, or docility of mind, or humility of spirit, they have but to claim it, and to prove their claim. They will find us quite easy of conviction on proper proof. Failing any such inequality of position or advantage, the issue between the parties seems to be, as in fact it always has been, one depending entirely upon an honest and intelligent interpretation of the Scriptures. The candid Bishop Butler has frankly remarked, “There is not, I think, anything relating to Christianity which has been more objected against, than the mediation of Christ in some or other of its parts.”* The admission affords an admirable introduction to every attempt at a fair

* Analogy, Part II. Chap. V.

inquiry, for the sake of discovering where the strength of the objection to the Orthodox doctrine really lies.

Would that the time had fully come for the treatment of this theme solely under a positive form of statement, simply to present accepted truth in all its manifold relations of tenderness and power for the heart of man ; because the Christian doctrine of Atonement is a doctrine which, by the consent of all parties, addresses the heart. There are two emphatic reasons which make it above all things desirable that this doctrine, instead of being a ground of division and alienation between Christian believers, should be the very point of their warmest sympathy and union. For, first, the doctrine which opens the way for our reconciliation to God, ought to reconcile us to each other, to engage our common love, to harmonize all our alienations, and to be the bond of peace between believers. And second, as this is one of the fundamental doctrines of Christian theology, it must constitute one of the chief tests of the truth and value of that great remedial scheme of the Gospel. The doctrine truly stated must furnish the strongest testimony for the truth and the adequacy of the alleged Divine intervention for the deliverance of men ; while any false view or perversion of the doctrine will at once constitute the most offensive obstacle in the way of a confiding belief, and will make the Gospel most impotent where it ought to be most effective in its power. Indeed, our consciousness of moral and spiritual disease, our sense of exposure under sin and of our need of redemption, the measure of our love and gratitude to Christ as the medium of relief, and our views of the character, attributes, and government of God, will all be affected by our view of the nature and method of that remedy which the Gospel has provided.

We think we express the prevailing sentiment among Unitarians when we say that this is the theme upon which they love the least to dispute, are the most reluctant to engage in controversy, and are the most anxious to have a clear understanding with their opponents as to the grounds of division and the prospects of harmonizing our differences. We feel that the subject is alien from all strife, a subject eminently engaging, pacifying, and constraining of sympathy and harmony. That

Christ died for us in any sense, ought to exclude his death from angry or passionate controversy among those who claim to share the benefits of his sacrifice. It is a grievous thing to us to be told that we deny his Atonement, and then to have so severe a charge vindicated by forcing upon the Scriptures a doctrine which we are persuaded is not taught there, but is an inference or invention of the mind of man. And especially is it grievous to us to be charged, as even now we are charged,—when we affirm that we believe the doctrine,—with using words deceptively, and with trying to claim Orthodox sympathy of belief under double meanings of language and the perversion of terms from their ordinary significations. It is only from the sense and the smart of the wrong thus inflicted upon us, that we still engage in controversy upon this doctrine. We say that we do find a doctrine of Atonement in the Scriptures, and that we heartily and gratefully believe it: that the doctrine exalts Christ as the Saviour, wins to him our highest trust and love, and brings us adoringly to praise that once alienated Father in heaven, whose love has provided a means for the redemption and salvation of men. Our opponents, venturing at once to assume their own infallibility in the dogmatic view which they have formed of the method and efficacy of the Atonement, and to pronounce upon the inadequacy of the faith which we hold and love, charge us with a denial of the Scripture doctrine of Atonement. Hence arises the issue between us. We are perfectly ready to meet it.

On no other of the larger or the lesser topics that have entered into this controversy has there been so wide a variation, and so marked a modification in the specific terms of the Orthodox doctrine, as on this of the Atonement. Without claiming that Orthodoxy has made any distinct approximation to our views, or has essentially relieved what is and has always been to Unitarians the most unscriptural and offensive quality of its doctrine of the Atonement, we may safely affirm that it has essentially changed its own dogmatic position. The definition of the Atonement made by the leading Orthodox divines of the present day is quite different from that given two centuries ago by those whom they claim to represent. Notwithstanding the very bold assertions

made in the religious newspapers issued from week to week this current year, that Orthodoxy has not departed from its standards, and that it still holds to "the substance" of the Calvinistic formulas, it is impossible for us to assent to the assertions, when we compare pages of the old divinity on our shelves with the recent productions of some of the most eminent men of the Orthodox communions. Would Cotton, Hooker, Shepherd, Edwards, or Hopkins have admitted, with Dr. E. Beecher, that the system of Orthodoxy is utterly inconsistent with the principles of honor and justice in the Divine government? Or with Professor Park, that the rhetoric of Orthodoxy needs to be toned down, if one would harmonize it with logical truth? Or with Dr. Bushnell, that the death of Christ is a dramatic scene, in which we must discriminate between the subjective and the objective meaning? Ask the aged persons among us who used to listen to Orthodox preaching, if its tone, and even its substance, are not changed.

Therefore, the issue between us now is not exactly what it was even fifty years ago. Those terrific and harrowing representations of some of the Divine attributes which were current in the old divinity, do not enter into modern preaching. Those dramatic representations of the covenant work between God and Christ, involving stipulations as to what the Father should require to soothe his wrath and accept as the ransom of human souls, and as to how much the Son should suffer, are now withdrawn, either in deference to the exactions of good taste, or as a consequence of an actual change of opinion. Some of the many sharp points of the Orthodox doctrine are worn smooth. Vague terms which may be unobjectionable are substituted for very shocking terms once in common use. It is getting to be difficult now to discuss the real issue between the parties, without a vast deal of definition and interpretation, and clearing up of the outworks of language and ideas. We take in our hands some of the modern essays on the doctrine of the Atonement, and as we begin the perusal it would seem as if some of the views most antagonistic to our own convictions were about to receive a most offensive statement, leading farther and farther as the argument progressed to a perfectly heathen

conclusion. But no! They melt and soften and become very yielding, till, what with dramatic uses of language and shapings of thought and governmental theories, the sternness of the reader's brow is relaxed, his dissent is soothed, a degree of sympathy, a stage of conviction, is wrought within him, and he asks, Is the old doctrine reduced down to this?

But what is the doctrine? and where does the controversy upon it between Unitarianism and Orthodoxy commence? and in what directions do the parties diverge? and what is the substance of their difference? We shall soon have to ask here, as we have asked concerning the two previous topics which we have discussed, What was the doctrine when the controversy opened, and before it had been reduced to simpler and more vague and elusive terms as the result of controversy?

The English word, the noun *atonement*, occurs but once in our version of the New Testament (Romans v. 11). No respectable scholar or writer would now affirm or argue,—as was once affirmed and argued,—that the original word in the Greek should here be rendered by an English word conveying the sense of compensation, commutation, or expiation.* The verb to which the noun is related means, and is translated, *to reconcile*, and atonement, or at-onement, is reconciliation, as in other instances it is rendered. An explicit avowal to this effect has recently been made by Professor Pond of the Bangor Theological Seminary:† “An atonement, therefore, in the sense of our translators, is a reconciliation. But the word has undergone a slight change of meaning within the last two hundred years. As now used, it denotes not so much a reconciliation, as that which is done *to open and prepare the way for* a reconciliation. As used by Evangelical Christians, it refers to what has been done by our Lord Jesus Christ, to *open a way* for the recovery and salvation of sinful men, that so a reconciliation may be effected between them and their Maker.” It is something to have the fact clearly and fully admitted that the Apostle's word does not imply

* Dr. Woods says: “The word *atonement* has become ambiguous, its common use being somewhat different from its use in Scripture.” (Works, Vol. II. p. 493.)

† See his Article in *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1856, p. 130.

the sense which has long been associated in controversy with the word *atonement*, a sense which Dr. Webster has very unwarrantably introduced into his English Dictionary. Our literature in the age of Shakespeare will show the signification of the word then to have been *reconciliation*. The perversion of the Scripture doctrine gave to the word *atonement* the new use which it begins to have in the literature of the age of Queen Ann.* We might, indeed, raise a question as to the perfect accuracy of the signification which Dr. Pond says that Orthodoxy now assigns to the word. We certainly should wish to include under "what has been *done* by Jesus Christ," what was *said* by him, with the same design of opening a way for reconciliation.

The doctrine of Atonement or reconciliation is one of a large sweep and compass, and the first condition for any fair and satisfactory treatment of it is to secure the discussion of it, at the very start, against all such influence from definitions or limitations, as will surely give us a part instead of the whole doctrine. The question is, not what theory about it will the thought or the reason of man adopt or approve, but what do the Scriptures teach us concerning the doctrine, as it is exclusively a doctrine of revelation? The sweep of the doctrine embraces a great many contingencies dependent upon a duplication or an alternative connected with all of the large elements which enter into it. Thus Christ may be regarded either as a medium for announcing terms of reconciliation from God, or as an agent for facilitating and accomplishing such a reconciliation; or he may be both the announcer and the agent of the process of reconciliation. The Orthodox doctrine assumes that sin is an infinite wrong, and deserves an infinite punishment or

* "*Lod.* Is there division 'twixt thy lord and Cassio?

"*Des.* A most unhappy one; I would do much
T' atone them, for the love I bear to Cassio."

Shaksp. *Othello*, Act. IV. Sc. 1.

"Or each atone his guilty love with life." — Pope.

The transition between the two meanings is well marked in Milton:

"*Man*,

. once dead in sins and lost,
Atonement for himself or offering meet,
Indebted and undone, hath none to bring."

Par. Lost, Book III. l. 234.

requires an infinite expiation, because it is committed against an Infinite Being. This is looking at facts from one point of view, namely, the Divine. But the alternative point of view would suggest the question, How can sin be of such infinite demerit, seeing that it is committed by a finite and limited being? Another duplication of issues presents itself in the rivalry of claims on our fullest affections raised by the confusion in the Orthodox theology which refers the prime movement for our redemption to the *love of God*, or to the *interposition of Christ*. This confusion is not removed by the interchange of such references, or by the attempt to prove them identical. When Calvinism tells us that the Father *chose* and *appointed* and *qualified* the Son to be our Redeemer, and also that the Son *offered* himself to be our sacrifice, one who would have clear thoughts, so far as he has any, must ask, Which of these two statements would Orthodoxy have us accept? Again, Was Christ's death an actual expiation, equivalent in anguish to all the sufferings that sinners would have endured, or was it a demonstrative exhibition of a legal penalty? Once more, Did or did not the Divine nature of Christ share in his sufferings? Still other alternatives of doctrine present themselves in the divergencies of Orthodox teaching as to the relations between the Divine Justice and the Divine Mercy, by which God might or might not freely forgive, while his law might or might not freely remit; and in the discordant opinions as to whether a knowledge of the sacrifice to be made, and now made by Christ, was and is necessary or not necessary to all who share in its benefits. And finally, Is the Atonement limited or unlimited in its efficacy? These are all complications of the controversy for us, and the grounds of minor controversies among the Orthodox themselves.

There is no chapter in the old Confession of Faith of the New England churches, which is still the standard for the Orthodox Congregationalists, devoted specifically to the doctrine of the Atonement. The word itself does not occur in that formula, nor even in the Westminster Catechism. The substantial Orthodox doctrine under which our fathers were educated, and which was had in view at the opening of the Unitarian controversy, is found in Chapter VIII. of the Confession, under the title "Of Christ the Mediator," as follows:—

“ It pleased God in his eternal purpose to choose and ordain the Lord Jesus, his only begotten Son, according to a covenant made between them both, to be the mediator between God and man: the prophet, priest, and king, the head and Saviour of his Church, the heir of all things, and judge of the world: unto whom he did from all eternity give a people to be his seed, and to be by him in time redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified. The Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God of one substance, and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of time was come, take upon him man’s nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof, yet without sin, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary, of her substance, — which person is very God and very man, yet one Christ, the only mediator between God and man ; — was sanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit above measure, — that he might be thoroughly furnished to execute the office of a mediator and surety: which office he took not unto himself, but was thereunto called by his Father, — and did most willingly undertake ; which that he might discharge, he was made under the law, and did perfectly fulfil it, and underwent the punishment due to us, which we should have borne and suffered, being made sin and a curse for us, enduring most grievous torments immediately from God in his soul, and most painful sufferings in his body, was crucified and died, was buried and remained under the power of death : — by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself, which he through the Eternal Spirit once offered up unto God, he hath fully satisfied the justice of God, and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven for all those whom the Father hath given unto him. Although the work of redemption was not actually wrought by Christ till after his incarnation, yet the virtue, efficacy, and benefits thereof were communicated to the elect in all ages successively from the beginning of the world,” &c.

We must bear as well as we can the confusion of terms and the irreconcilable statements in this formula ; they are some of the dreary conditions to which any one must submit in reading even, and still more in attempting to digest, the schemes of divinity wrought out from the fan-

cies of theologians. Here we are told of a covenant between two persons, when in fact there was but *One*; of a Mediator between two parties, who was himself one of those parties; of an office "willingly undertaken" by the Son, which, however, "he did not take upon himself," because "he was called to it by the Father"; of a being who was essentially the Supreme God, who yet "was sanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit"; of a being compounded of Deity and humanity, in order that the union of Deity might exalt a sacrifice in which, however, only the human nature suffered; of Christ's thus "purchasing from God" those whom God "had given" to him from all eternity; and finally, we read that the death of Christ is made to stand as a substitute or equivalent for the eternal torments and the remorseful heart-sufferings of millions of condemned sinners. If we pass by these confused and inconsistent terms in the old formula of the doctrine of Redemption, our attention is fixed, and our protest is raised, by the following sentences in the Confession: "Christ underwent the punishment due to us"; "enduring most grievous torments immediately from God in his soul," "he hath fully satisfied the justice of God," and "he hath purchased reconciliation." The statements and inferences of doctrine in these sentences formerly constituted the staple matter of Calvinistic teaching concerning the redeeming work of Christ: they present to us the essential, the peculiar, the characteristic features of Calvinism. One who honestly assumes the name of a Calvinist will unflinchingly accept these essential elements of his creed, and will make no adroit attempts to evade them. Any one who takes the name of a Calvinist, and yet endeavors to soften or explain away the manifest meaning of these sentences will certainly act more candidly if he will change his own name, which he is at liberty to do, and give over trifling with written formulas, which he is not at liberty to do. Of late the sharper phraseology, the positive and unqualified statements which we find in the above sentences, have yielded to a less direct implication of more or less of their substance, and to an infinite variety of softening constructions put upon them.

If, in the course of this controversy, some nominal Calvinists had not ventured to deny the truthfulness of the representations made by Unitarians as to the essen-

tial views expressed by Calvin himself, one would hardly suppose that any question could be raised on this point. The following sentences, all drawn from the sixteenth chapter of the second book of Calvin's *Institutes*, are a fair exhibition of his theology on this point: "That Christ has taken upon himself and suffered the punishment which by the righteous judgment of God impended over all sinners; that by his blood he has expiated those crimes which render them odious to God; that by this expiation God the Father has been satisfied and duly atoned; that by this intercessor his wrath has been appeased; that this is the foundation of peace between God and men; that this is the bond of his benevolence towards them." "Indeed, we must admit that it was impossible for God to be truly appeased in any other way, than by Christ renouncing all concern for himself, and submitting and devoting himself entirely to his will." "For we ought particularly to remember this satisfaction, that we may not spend our whole lives in terror and anxiety, as though we were pursued by the righteous vengeance of God, which the Son of God has transferred to himself." "For the Son of God, though perfectly free from all sin, nevertheless assumed the disgrace and ignominy of our iniquities, and, on the other hand, arrayed us in his purity." "Christ at his death was offered to the Father as an expiatory sacrifice, in order that, a complete atonement being made by his oblation, we may no longer dread the Divine wrath." "If Christ had merely died a corporeal death, no end would have been accomplished by it; it was requisite, also, that he should feel the severity of the Divine vengeance, in order to appease the wrath of God and satisfy his justice. Hence it was necessary for him to contend with the powers of hell and the horror of eternal death." "Christ suffered in his soul the dreadful torments of a person condemned and irretrievably lost." "And, indeed, if his soul had experienced no punishment, he would have been only a Redeemer for the body." "Whence we may conclude what dreadful and horrible agonies he must have suffered, while he was conscious of standing at the tribunal of God accused as a criminal on our account." *

* That we might not intensify by our own version any of the expressions

The Assembly's Catechism tells us that "Christ was a sacrifice to Divine Justice." The old divines, who made the Catechism the expository rule of their faith, were wont to receive its statements literally. They held themselves bound to an unflinching fidelity to its doctrines. We will take, as an illustration of this remark, the example of that pious Puritan minister, John Flavel, son of Rev. Richard Flavel, who entered upon his work in Dartmouth, Old England, just two centuries ago, and whose devotional spirit and writings have made him a favorite among the disciples of Orthodoxy to this day.* He published an Exposition of the Assembly's Catechism, and had no distinction among his brethren as one who forced it beyond a fair construction of its doctrinal statements. It will be seen by a few extracts from his sermons, how boldly and literally he was disposed to accept all that was implied in the Calvinistic view of the Covenant of Redemption. Our extracts are made from the folio edition of his works, Edinburgh, 1731. It should be observed that he aims to support all his positions by references to texts in Scripture, made after the usage of his time, without the slightest recognition of any just principles of biblical criticism, and with an entire disregard of the connection in which the passages quoted stand in the original.

Flavel's third sermon is on "Christ's Compact with the Father for the Recovery of the Elect." Isaiah liii. 12.

"Doctrine, that the business of man's salvation was transacted upon covenant terms betwixt the Father and the Son from all eternity." "The substance of this Covenant of Redemption is dialogue-wise exprest to us in Isaiah xlix. Having told God how ready and fit he was for his service, he will know of Him what reward he shall have for his work, for he resolves his blood shall not be sold at low and cheap rates. Hereupon the Father offers him the elect of Israel for his reward, bidding low at first, (as they that make bargains use to do,) and only offers him that small remnant still intending to bid higher. But Christ will not be satisfied with these; he values his Blood higher than so. Therefore he is

used by Calvin, we have adopted the translation of the Institutes published by the Presbyterian Board at Philadelphia.

* The late Dr. Alexander, the Princeton Professor, wrote, "To John Flavel I certainly owe more than to any uninspired author." — *Life*, by his Son, p. 47.

brought in complaining, '*I have labored in vain, and spent my strength for naught.*' This is but a small reward for so great sufferings as I must undergo; my blood is much more worth than this comes to, and will be sufficient to redeem all the elect dispersed among the isles of the Gentiles, as well as the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Hereupon the Father comes up higher, and tells him He intends to reward him better than so." "The persons transacting and dealing with each other in this covenant are great persons, God the Father, and God the Son: the former as a creditor, and the latter as a surety. The Father stands upon satisfaction, the Son engages to give it." "And forasmuch as the Father knew it was a hard and difficult work His Son was to undertake, a work that would have broken the backs of all the angels in heaven and men on earth, had they engaged in it, therefore He promiseth to stand by him, and assist and strengthen him for it." We read that the Father also agreed to furnish Christ with all the necessary qualifications for his work, and to reward him for accomplishing it. "The Father so far trusted Christ, that upon the credit of his promise to come into the world, and in the fulness of time to become a sacrifice for the elect, He saved all the Old Testament saints, whose faith also respected a Christ to come." (pp. 6, 7.)

In the next sermon, on John iii. 16, we read:—

"God's giving of Christ implies his delivering him into the hands of justice to be punished: even as condemned persons are by sentence of law given or delivered into the hands of executioners. The Lord, when the time was come that Christ must suffer, did as it were say, 'O all ye roaring waves of my incensed justice, now swell as high as heaven, and go over his soul and body: sink him to the bottom; let him go, like Jonah, his type, into the belly of hell, unto the roots of the mountains. Come, all ye raging storms that I have reserved for this day of wrath, beat upon him, beat him down. Go, justice, put him upon the rack, torment him in every part,' &c. (p. 9.) This terrible vengeance is represented as but fulfilling what the Father in the compact had announced to the Son, thus: "My Son, if thou undertake for them, thou must reckon to pay the last mite; expect no abatements; if I spare them, I will not spare thee." (p. 8.) "To wrath, to the wrath of

an infinite God, without mixture, to the very torments of hell, was Christ delivered, and that by the hand of his own Father." (p. 10.)

With equal plainness does this earnest and outspoken Calvinist insist, in his eighth sermon, that God could not exercise his mercy without satisfaction to his justice. "He, therefore, that will be a Mediator of Reconciliation betwixt God and man, must bring God a price in his hand, and that adequate to the offence and wrong done Him, else He will not treat about peace." (p. 21.) "Our Mediator, like Jonah his type, seeing the stormy sea of God's wrath working tempestuously, and ready to swallow us up, cast in himself to appease the storm." (p. 22.) More distinctly still we read in the twelfth sermon: "The design and end of this oblation was to atone, pacify, and reconcile God, by giving him a full and adequate compensation or satisfaction for the sins of these his elect. From this oblation Christ made of himself to God for our sins, we infer the inflexible severity of Divine justice, which could be no other way diverted from us and appeased, but by the blood of Christ. And though he brake out upon the cross in that heart-rending complaint, 'My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?' yet no abatement: justice will not bend in the least, but, having to do with him on this account, resolves to fetch its pennyworths out of his blood." (p. 35.) In the fourteenth sermon Flavel says: "Only the blood of God is found an equivalent price for the redemption of souls." (p. 41.)

Conformed to these representations is Flavel's description of the actual sufferings endured by Christ, thus: "The wrath of an infinite, dreadful God beat him down to the dust. His body full of pain and exquisite tortures in every part. Not a member or sense but was the seat and subject of torment." (p. 88.) "His cry was like the perpetual shriek of them that are cast away for ever. Yea, in sufferings at this time in his soul, equivalent to all that which our souls should have suffered there to all eternity." (p. 102.) "As it was all the wrath of God that lay upon Christ, so it was wrath aggravated in divers respects, beyond that which the damned themselves do suffer." (p. 106.)

One other quotation will prove that the author did not believe that God would grant to Christ anything

beyond the covenant as it embraced the *elect*. The extract is in strange contrast with admissions made by eminent champions of Orthodoxy at the present day, in allowing an unlimited atonement and the efficacy of Christ's death for millions who have or have had no knowledge of him. It is from Sermon XV.: "Hence we infer the impossibility of their salvation that know not Christ, nor have interest in his blood. Neither heathens, nor merely nominal Christians, can inherit heaven. I know some are very indulgent to the heathen, and many formal Christians are but too much so to themselves. But union by faith with Jesus Christ is the only way revealed in Scripture by which we hope to come to the heavenly inheritance. I know it seems hard that such brave men as some of the heathens were should be damned. But the Scripture knows no other way to glory but Christ put on and applied by faith. And it is the common suffrage of modern sound divines, that no man, by the sole conduct of Nature, without the knowledge of Christ, can be saved." (p. 44.)

Thus the old Calvinistic construction of the doctrine was, that the obedience of Christ takes the place of our lack of obedience; that he became to God the personal substitute for condemned sinners; that by the imputation of our transgressions to him, he endured the suffering threatened upon us; and that, by bearing the just penalty of an outraged law, he discharged our indebtedness to it, and purchased our redemption from the Lawgiver. It would be possible, if time and space allowed, to trace by a chain of quotations from Orthodox divines the course of softening and modifying speculations which have reduced the old doctrine to the mildest form of the governmental theory, presenting the elder Edwards and Dr. Hopkins as the mediums for working the prominent changes in the use of terms or in the construction put upon them. We might thus easily exhibit, were it worth our while, all the shadings off, if we should not rather say the shadings over, of the old doctrine. Edwards very ingeniously remarks: "Most of the words which are used in this affair have various significations." * The following sentences from this eminent divine will exhibit his views of "the Work of Redemp-

* Works, edition of 1808, Vol. II. p. 190.

tion": "There is no mercy exercised towards man but what is obtained through Christ's intercession." (p. 26.) "For when man [Adam] had sinned, God the Father would have no more to do with man immediately; he would no more have any immediate concern with this world of mankind that had apostatized from, and rebelled against him." (p. 27.) "All is done by the price that Christ lays down. But the price that Christ lays down does two things. It pays our debt, and so it *satisfies*. By its intrinsic value, and by the agreement between the Father and the Son, it procures a title to us for happiness, and so it *merits*. The satisfaction of Christ is to free us from misery, and the merit of Christ is to purchase happiness for us." (p. 190.) "The satisfaction of Christ consists in his answering the demands of the law on man, which were consequent on the breach of the law. These were answered by suffering the penalty of the law. The merit of Christ consists in what he did to answer the demands of the law, which were prior to man's breach of the law, or to fulfil what the law demanded before man sinned, which was obedience." (p. 191.)

There is a savor of good old Mr. Flavel's view of the "covenant work" in the following account given of it by the excellent Dr. Hopkins: "It is evident from Scripture, as well as from the nature of the case, that there was a mutual agreement and engagement between the Father and the second person of the Trinity, respecting the redemption of man, by which the distinct part which each person in the Trinity was to act was fixed and undertaken. This mutual agreement is of the nature of a covenant and engagement with each other to perform the different parts of this great work which were assigned to them. This is an eternal covenant without beginning, as is the existence of the triune God, and as are all the divine purposes and decrees. The second person was engaged to become incarnate,—to do and suffer all that was necessary for the salvation of men. The Father promised that, on his consenting to take upon him the character and work of a Mediator and Redeemer, he should be every way furnished and assisted to go through with the work; that he should have power to save an elect number of mankind, and form a church and kingdom most perfect and glorious. In

order to accomplish this, all things—all power in heaven and earth—should be given to him, until redemption was completed. And then he should reign in the exercise of all his offices as Mediator, in his Church and kingdom for ever.” After quoting passages of Scripture by the old method to authenticate these views, Dr. Hopkins adds: “Though in the passages of Scripture which have been mentioned, and others of the same kind, the third person in the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, is not expressly mentioned as covenanting or engaging to perform any part of this work, yet he is necessarily understood as concerned and included in this covenant, as he is in the Holy Scripture everywhere represented as acting an equal part in the redemption of man, and therefore must be considered as taking that particular part by consent and agreement.”* Were it not for the more dramatic view of the “covenant,” not between God and man, but between the Father and the Son, which we have already quoted from Flavel, and which might be paralleled from other divines, we might affirm that Dr. Hopkins was not wholly destitute of the imaginative faculty in having conjured up the above conceit, for which the Bible is not responsible. His ingenuity in apologizing for the apparent neglect of the Holy Spirit is not the least striking element in his description. He is explicit in stating a limited atonement, limited at least in its actual work. “Redemption,” he says, “does not extend to all sinful, fallen creatures, but many are left to suffer the just consequence of their rebellion in everlasting punishment. It is expressly and repeatedly declared in divine revelation, that a part of mankind shall be punished for ever.” (p. 248.) Anticipatory hints of the “governmental theory,” as now held by a philosophical school of Orthodox divines, are to be found scattered over Dr. Hopkins’s pages. He speaks of what is consistent or inconsistent with “rectoral righteousness.” He says: “The sufferings of Christ answer the same end with respect to law and divine government, that otherwise must be answered by the eternal destruction of the sinner.” (p. 328.) He says the blood shed upon the cross “was the blood of God.” (p. 282.) Dr. Hopkins is generally very scrupulous and

* Professor Park’s edition of Hopkins’s Works, Vol. I. pp. 356–358.

careful to sustain his own strongest assertions by references to passages of Scripture, which, however strangely or fancifully he may quote them, and however unjustifiable and inapplicable the use he makes of them, prove at least his fair intent to bring his assertions to a true test. But for one of his boldest assertions, that which covers one of the vital and most disputable points in the whole discussion of the atonement, he alleges no Scripture authority. Thus he says: "*It was in early times expressly declared that sacrifices and offerings were not desirable, or of any worth, in themselves considered, and that God did not institute and require them for their own sake, as making any real atonement for sin; but that this should be made by an incarnate Redeemer, to whom they pointed as types and shadows of him.*" (p. 325.) The good doctor drew wholly on his imagination here, as regards the statement which we have put in italics. It was in early times expressly declared and emphatically reiterated, that sacrifices had no value except as they indicated penitence and piety of heart. Obedience was better. The Jewish sacrifices were subordinated to contrition, mercy, faith, and amendment of life,—*never in a single instance to another prospective sacrifice.* Scripture has not a word to this effect.

The favorite form under which the old doctrine is now advocated by the advanced party among those who claim to represent the ancient Orthodoxy of Congregationalism, is called technically "the Governmental Theory." We will cite a quite recent and very clear statement of it. Dr. Pond, in the article above referred to in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," states, as the first reason for the necessity of Christ's agency in reconciliation, that which all Christians will heartily accept, namely, that it "was necessary in order that sinners might *be humbled and brought to repentance.*" He might have quoted many beautiful Scripture sentences in proof of this statement, as every doctrine that is really Scriptural may be expressed more beautifully and forcibly in that than in any other language. Thus: "It behoved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead, that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." (Luke xxiv. 46, 47.) "God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities." (Acts iii. 26.)

But, adds Dr. Pond, "This necessity for the atonement is not, after all, the most urgent and fundamental. There is a necessity greater than this. We remark, therefore, the atonement of Christ was necessary to sustain and honor the broken law of God, to vindicate his authority, and satisfy his glorious justice." Now we see how easy it is for the believers of this theory to state it intelligibly and boldly. But how comes it that they have to state it in words and phrases of their own? If the sacred writers had wished to state it, nothing would have been easier. But where is there a sentence within the covers of the Bible that can be quoted as explicitly advancing it? We do not hesitate to say, with all the frankness and positiveness of full conviction, that there is not a line or a phrase of Scripture that affirms such a doctrine. Divines have to state it in their own terms, because Scripture terms fail them. Of course we are well aware that there are passages in the Bible which are constructively and inferentially turned to support this dogma. But the constructions and the inferences are the very matters in debate. Having entered our distinct protest here, with an honest and sufficient reason for it, we must follow the reasoning which proceeds *on a human formula*.

Dr. Pond argues, it is necessary for God as the Supreme Ruler "to sustain law. He must not suffer his law to be trifled with and trampled on. He must maintain it inviolate in all its strictness and strength, its authority and purity, or his government of law will be subverted and overthrown." The law, he adds, can be sustained by punishing the transgressors as they deserve, by inflicting upon them the threatened penalty, and only in this way, unless some expedient can be devised by which the honor of the broken law, and the display of God's righteous regard for it, and all the ends of government, can be secured as fully, as perfectly, as they would be by inflicting the penalty. Without some such expedient, to pardon and save sinners would be a moral impossibility, intolerable under the government of God, inconsistent with its stability, its perfection, and even with its continued existence. The Professor does not stop to weigh the balance between the two conditions under which the law may be duly honored, nor to decide

by which of the two the ends of law, and the very idea of *Law*, may be vindicated. One of these is, the repentance in dust and ashes, in deepest contrition, of those who, having broken the law, have already suffered from it and by it, and who now honor it by suing with imploring hearts for forgiveness; taken in connection with the tribute also paid to the law by the sufferings of those who break it and do not repent. The other condition is, the visiting the penalty of a broken law on one who has not broken it, but has honored it in all its provisions. Which of these two conditions wins the nobler tribute, the more adequate satisfaction to an outraged law? Let the parent ask the question as it applies to family discipline. Are its ends better answered to him by the kneeling contrition and the importunate appeals for forgiveness of an erring child, or by requiring, or even allowing, an unoffending brother or sister to submit to a punishment? Would the parable of the prodigal son win a new attraction for our hearts, an enhanced power over our consciences, if the father had been represented as scourging the elder son before he embraced the younger?

Dr. Pond proceeds to argue, that the agency of Christ offered an expedient alternative to the suffering of sinners, for sustaining law, — not, however, through his perfect holiness, nor through his perfect obedience to the divine law, the merit of which obedience is imputed to us, as the old doctrine affirmed, — but *through his sufferings and death*, — “in the shedding of his blood.” In pronouncing upon the mode of the *efficacy* of Christ’s death, “the *manner* in which it *availed* to make an atonement for sin,” he rejects that element of the Catechism doctrine which teaches “that Christ by his suffering for us literally *paid our debt to divine justice*,” or that “he met *the strict and proper penalty of the law*,” as the fulfilment of these conditions would have required that Christ should have been the subject of the most hateful and painful passions, stings and reproaches of conscience, dissatisfaction with God, and the pains and agonies of the bottomless pit in eternal death. These Christ did not suffer. But he answered “the ends of justice.” “His death was *vicarious*. He died as a *substitute*.” “He endured, not the proper penalty of the law for us, but an adequate *substitute for that penalty*.”

"He offered a *fair and full equivalent* for the everlasting sufferings of all who shall be finally saved." In this view, Dr. Pond finds the reason why "Christ must have been just such a personage, God and man, divine and human, as he is represented in the Scriptures. Had he been a divine person only, he could not have made an atonement, because the divine nature cannot suffer and die. And had he been a human person only, he could not have made an atonement, because he would have been unable, without the divine nature, to endure the requisite amount of suffering, and he would have lacked that personal dignity and glory which impart such a value and efficacy to his death."

Now, if without the least feeling of disrespect to the writer of the last-quoted sentences, but with the simple purpose of expressing how tortuous is the idea which they present to our own minds, we may venture to paraphrase them, we must say that they seem to us to intimate that Christ's human nature needed the divine element, because the human nature could not suffer enough; and that the divine nature needed the human element, because the divine nature could not suffer at all. Is Christian doctrine answerable for such devices, or do they come of the brains of men?

Similar to these views of the Bangor Professor are the following, which we find in a recent devotional work, otherwise enriched with some of the choicest and most impressive lessons of Christian piety, conveyed in the most chaste and fervent language. We refer to "The Communion Sabbath," by Rev. Dr. N. Adams. The author says: "God alone was able to expiate the sin of his creatures, by taking man's nature into union with the Divine, in the person of the Word, and making satisfaction to justice by that which He saw to be equivalent in effect to the endless punishment of the race." (p. 34.) The author speaks of Christ as "expiating our guilt." (p. 37.) He also says: "The death of Christ was not a substitute for our crucifixion, but for our endless misery." (p. 63.)

Now if the denial, unreserved and emphatic, of this view — call it "the governmental theory," or by any other title — of what it was necessary, *in reference to God*, and *to God's law*, that Christ should do, and of what

Christ did, to open the way for our reconciliation with our Heavenly Father, — if this denial be indeed a denial of the Scripture doctrine of the Atonement, then Unitarians must needs submit to the charge, and meet it as they can. But not for one moment will Unitarians allow that this is the Scripture doctrine of the Atonement. They find no such doctrine in the Scriptures, but one quite unlike it. It is usual for Orthodox writers against us to assert that boastful reason and obduracy object to this doctrine, because of its humiliating character, because of its affront to human pride! But how differently do men judge of the same things! For ourselves, we must say that we know of no mounting fancy or conception among all the fabulous incarnations of Hindoo or Indian mythology, or among the apotheoses of Pagan idolatry, which offers such an incense to human pride as do some of the shapings of this popular doctrine of the Atonement. The charge against us has always seemed to us to be one of the most perverse distortions of truth which polemical inventiveness could devise. What is there humbling to human pride in the doctrine that God for our sakes (for his own sake, even!) condescended to such a method for our redemption? Were the subject of a monarch in captivity in a foreign land to send home to have a ransom provided for him, and were the monarch himself to go to redeem him, the last effect which we should look for would be that the redeemed captive should feel humbled by the transaction. He would boast it as the highest of his honors. The Orthodox doctrine seems to us, certainly in comparison with our own, to foster a surpassing conceit of human pride. But the implication intended to be conveyed by the Orthodox charge against us is, that we really find their doctrine in the New Testament, or, at least, have a misgiving that it is there, while we contumaciously resist it. Will they therefore give us the benefit of our own most sincere and earnest profession, that, with all the means which they have for understanding the Scriptures, and with as profound a sense of their value, and as single a purpose to know and obey their lessons, we find no such doctrine in them as Orthodoxy teaches?

We have stated that the antagonistic issue opened between Orthodoxy and Unitarianism, after long and

full debate, has committed us to the following position : That the Scriptures do not lay the emphatic stress of Christ's redeeming work upon his death, above or apart from his life, character, and doctrine ; and that his death, as an element of his redeeming work, is made effective for human salvation through its influence on the heart and life of man, not through its vicarious or substituted value with God, nor through its removal of an abstract difficulty in the Divine government which hinders the forgiveness of the penitent without further satisfaction. All the points now left in debate between the two parties are recognized in this summary statement. A brief reference to them, successively, will exhibit in as summary a way our denials of Orthodox positions, and the reason for such denials, and also the substance and grounds of our own doctrinal belief.

A few years ago Unitarianism was compelled to object that Orthodoxy laid the *whole* emphasis of Christ's redeeming work upon his death, upon his cross, his humiliation, his ignominy and sufferings. Of late the co-ordinate value of the life and doctrine of Christ has been acknowledged by some able Orthodox writers, though essential Calvinism and the formula of the Westminster Catechism made no account whatever of these elements of his redeeming work. His *merits* and *obedience* were recognized as prevailing with God, — not with man. Still we think that even the fullest recognition which we have ever met on any page of modern Orthodoxy does not do justice to the proportions of Scriptural truth on this point. No conviction lives more sincerely in the hearts of Unitarians than this, that the first erroneous bias of Orthodoxy arises precisely here. God forbid that we should write a word to depreciate the importance, the stress, or the value, in the whole work of redemption, of the cross, the death of Christ. But we do not fear this risk when our sole purpose is, not to compare the death of Christ with any other death, but to insist upon its relative aspect and proportions in connection with all else in him and by him. It is Christ's life, and Christ's character, and Christ's doctrine, which we would not have overshadowed by his cross.

Christ came into the world, as he said, to die for the world, and, in dying, to bear witness to the truth the knowl-

edge and obedience of which would insure eternal life to men. Thus his life, his character, and his doctrine are made the elements of his work. When these were displayed to men, they would bring him to his cross, while by that cross he would draw all men unto him. We have, then, to look to his life, character, and doctrine to find the purpose and the lesson of his death. But, in our view, Orthodoxy does violence to truth by impairing the proportion of its ingredients on these vast and solemn themes. Orthodoxy does not follow the harmony of Scripture in laying equal stress upon all that Christ was and taught and did. We do not charge Orthodoxy with laying too much stress upon the death of *Christ*, but with laying too much stress upon the *death* of Christ. The error of Orthodoxy here seems to us to lie in the same direction as does that of the Church of Rome, in the painful multiplication and obtrusion of its scenical and symbolical pictures of the crucifixion; its analytic representations of the incidents and instruments of the passion, as shown in the "Stations of the Cross," and in its elaborate ingenuities for keeping all the agonies of Calvary ever before the eye of the worshipper. The Scriptures do not thus isolate and emphasize the Saviour's sufferings. A misleading effect has been produced by the habit of Orthodox disputants, when arguing upon the cross of Christ, of selecting and bringing together from each separate document of the New Testament all the passages which refer to the death of the Saviour. It is forgotten that those documents were addressed by different writers to different communities, and the impression is designed or left that all the passages entered into each announcement or appeal of the Gospel. Indeed, if one could be content to go through the New Testament for the purpose of deciding by count or by the force of emphasis what one element of the Saviour's whole agency or history is chiefly insisted upon by the Apostles, he would probably find that his *resurrection* takes precedence of all others. Paul does not say, If Christ has not died, your faith is vain; but, "If Christ be not risen from the dead, then is our preaching vain: ye are yet in your sins." (1 Cor. xv. 14, 17.) It was his "hope of the resurrection of the dead," for which Paul was called in

question before the Pharisees. (Acts xxiii. 6.) When the Apostle enjoyed the coveted opportunity of addressing Felix and Drusilla concerning "the faith in Christ," the record tells us that "he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," with no reference to an expiatory offering made by Christ. And when he stood before King Agrippa to proclaim the hope and promise of the Gospel, there was the same silence about the expiation, and the same stress laid upon the doctrine of the resurrection. "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?" (Acts xxvi. 8.) "Jesus and the resurrection" were the strange things that Paul preached at Athens. (Acts xvii. 18, 20, 31, 32.)

Why, then, it may be asked, if the death of Christ is not made in Scripture to be the paramount and only emphatic incident in his manifestation to men,—why did he so die? Why was not his ministry terminated peacefully, gently, and by some natural process? We answer, at this stage of our argument,—leaving the point for further remark in another connection,—that a suffering end was the consistent termination of such a life and of such a work. The sacrificial character of his death—and we hold his death to have been sacrificial in the highest sense of the word—had been foreshadowed by every incident and element of his manifestation. In the body of flesh, through which he suffered on the cross, he had been humbled and tempted and scourged, and buffeted. The hands and feet which he showed to his disciples, pierced by the nails on Mount Calvary, had shared the toils and weariness of his ministry as the servant of all. How far the knowledge of "the decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem," and of the method of it, may have pervaded and deepened the spirit of all his words and deeds, and given to what humanly we call his character its solitary perfectness and its fulness of heavenward consecration, it would be presumptuous in a disciple to judge. It is written of him, however, that he was himself "made perfect through suffering"; that the crowning grace of his soul was his triumph over mortal weakness; and that by his own endurance of trial he became the consoler and the supporter of those among whom his cross is divided. How

much of his fitness for his mediatorial work was secured by his own subjection in the flesh, we know not. But we have the knowledge of his life and ministry, which warrant us in saying that the only consistent termination of his life and work was that which closed it on the cross. His was a public life of outward severities, humiliations, and mortifications. To have ended it in retirement, on a peaceful couch in a private dwelling, under a gentle ministration such as his houseless lot had never shared, would not have been in harmony with its course and consecration. Not with reference to any legal exactions of the Almighty Father, but as addressed to the hearts of men, do we enter into the touching significance of such words as these, from the Saviour's own lips: "The Son of Man *must* suffer many things, and be rejected"; "He *must* be delivered into the hands of sinful men"; "He *must needs* have suffered and risen again from the dead"; and, on the walk to Emmaus, "*Ought* not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?"

In the mean while the reconciling offices of Christ, as they are concentrated under the shadows of his cross, are distributed over the toils and the benedictive services of his life, are manifested in the graces of his character, and are set forth in his counsels, his appeals, his promises, and his personal ministry in the heart of a believer. His touch could heal; his word could forgive and save; his look could rebuke and win; his common converse could make hearts to burn within them; and his dying groan did but *finish* the work he had long been doing. It may be that the greater multitude of his disciples in every age have been won to him by the "power of his sufferings." Indeed, this result would follow, or would seem to follow, from the fact that his preachers have selected for stress and reiteration that single point of appeal. But confident we are, that, without diminution from the attractions of the cross, it may be affirmed that his life and character and doctrine, his grace and truth, his humility and patience and sinlessness, have secured him unnumbered believers in all time. The death of Christ takes we know not how much of its meaning from his life. The blessed power of sympathy in suffering in a world of sufferers, where disciples "must

drink of the cup and be baptized with the baptism " of their Master, is an influence which we dare not fathom or bound. We feel, however, that some of the most sacred and potent sway of Christ over the weary, the crushed, the woful and agonized, depends upon the fact, that the holiest and the tenderest sharer of our infirmities was " a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." There is an intimation which we will not ungenerously force, but which we cannot but follow up in our thoughts as dropped by St. Paul, when, in a mysterious way, he says that he rejoiced in his sufferings, and filled up in his flesh that which was " lacking in the afflictions of Christ for his body's sake, which is the Church." It is as if the Apostle ventured to suggest that he would contribute even his own pains and agonies to fill out the sacred purpose of his Master's sufferings.

We come now to the vital point of the doctrinal difference between Unitarianism and Orthodoxy as regards the Atonement. Since we are now found to accord in the meaning of that word as expressing reconciliation, we accept the condition that the Scripture doctrine which we wish to define is — the agency of Christ in opening and preparing the way for a reconciliation between God and men. Keeping in view what has just been said respecting the whole agency of Christ in his life, his character, and his doctrine, we will now concentrate the issue upon his death. How is the death of Christ made efficacious for human salvation? What is the revealed method of its working to that result? The two parties to be reconciled are man, the sinning child, and God, the kind and righteous and offended Father; man, who is a debtor to the law, and God, whose just due and service have been denied him. Man is in the wrong, not God; man needs to be changed, not God; for he is ever waiting and willing to be gracious. There is a relation of hostility between the Father and the child, and Christ comes to mediate between them. His death, whether or not it has the chief efficacy, has at least the crowning agency in his mediatorial work of securing reconciliation. But how? Through what instrumentality, method, or process? We recognize two, and only two, directions in which we can look for an answer to this question. Orthodoxy looks in one

of these directions, and brings back a report which fixes its doctrine on this subject. Unitarianism looks in another direction, and accepts as a consequence another doctrine. We do not wish to avail ourselves of any dubiousness of language, of any confusion of terms, of any specious assumptions of a deceptive accord in opinions which are in fact radically different. We aim for candor, and we would rather overstate than understate our difference with Orthodoxy on this point. Clear-headed, out-spoken, frankly avowed conviction is what we all need here,—what the interests of truth, what the hopes of amity and tolerance, even amid differences, are rested upon. Orthodoxy regards the death of Christ as looking GOD-ward for its efficacy. Unitarianism regards the death of Christ as looking MAN-ward for its efficacy. If we have not in this distinction fairly and fully stated the whole issue between us, we beg that our error may be ascribed to our inability to comprehend and define the issue, not to any lack of right intent or desire to do so. We believe that we have expressed it fairly. Indeed, it is because we regard the Calvinistic theory in all its shapes and modifications as involving an influence in Christ's death which looks toward God for its efficacy, that we reject it in heart and faith, unreservedly and earnestly, as a heathenish and an unchristian doctrine.

The essential token of the Calvinistic or Orthodox scheme on this doctrine, whether characterized as a covenant between the Father and the Son, or centring upon the word *vicarious*, or *satisfaction*, or planting itself upon a "governmental theory," is that the efficacy of Christ's death works by its operation upon God, or some attribute of God, or upon some abstract difficulty in which he is involved by the laws of government he has himself established. Orthodoxy interposes a law between God and man which mercy cannot relax, but which only a victim can satisfy. God can freely forgive, but his law cannot freely remit a penitent offender. The essential token of the Unitarian scheme is that the whole operation of Christ's mediatorial death is upon the heart and life and spirit of man. We cannot confound or merge this fundamental distinction; it reaches deep; it rises high. Though Unitarianism may not undertake

to fathom, or comprehend, or give expression to all the mysterious influence and efficacy and mode of operation upon man and man's soul and destiny, though Unitarianism is free to acknowledge an unexplained and inexplicable agency in the sacrificial death of Christ, it nevertheless looks for it *all* in the direction of humanity, not in the direction of the Deity. We are ready for ourselves to go all the lengths of mysticism and mystification on this point, and to yield to the feeling of being on unsounded waters beneath unfathomed depths of ether. We are cheerfully willing to admit that God has comprehended influences in the sacrificial death of Christ which are designed to be efficaciously felt and mercifully availed of by us without yielding to the solution of our understanding. We can even accept some statements which we find in Orthodox pages about "a satisfaction made to law," by simply construing them as applying the sanction and penalties of the law to us through the sufferings of Christ for sin. We can accord well with the following remark of the great Bishop Butler: "How and in what particular way Christ's death had this efficacy [obtaining pardon], there are not wanting persons who have endeavored to explain; but I do not find that the Scripture has explained it. And if the Scripture has, as surely it has, left this matter of the satisfaction of Christ mysterious, left somewhat in it unrevealed, all conjectures about it must be, if not evidently absurd, yet at least uncertain."* We too would be willing to leave the matter unexplained. But our protest against the Orthodox scheme is, that, instead of ascribing the intelligible or the mysterious efficacy of Christ's death to its uses for offending, sinning, and repenting man, it makes a revolting dogma, or a needless device, and follows the sacrifice of the cross into the skies, as setting matters right between God and his own attributes of Justice and Mercy.

We are sensitive to any blurring of the dividing line between the God-ward or the Man-ward working of the efficacy of Christ's whole mediatorial office. We ask no compromise of opinion, we will make none whatever. We are impatient of any confusion of terms, any

* Analogy, Part II. Chap. V.

intermingling of distinctions, on this point. Reconciliation involves two conditions,—repentance in the offender, forgiveness on the part of the wronged. Or, if we add to the condition on the one side, we must qualify the grace on the other. If we require that the offender must not only repent, but make reparation, then we must recognize in the other party, not simple forgiveness, but the exacting of a satisfaction. As God is revealed as forgiving iniquity, he consents to forego satisfaction; and as man is unable to make reparation, he is required to offer penitence. We cannot attribute forgiveness where repentance and reparation are both demanded, for then the remission is not of grace, but by payment. We can neither fetter God's administration with laws which restrict his prerogative of mercy, nor take the benignity out of his forgiveness by attaching a purchase to its exercise.

Unitarianism, in opposition to Orthodoxy, maintains that the death of Christ, so far as its efficacy is distinctly defined, is instrumental to our salvation through its influence on the heart and life of man, not through its vicarious value with God; and also that revelation does not acquaint us with any obstacle in the method of administration which God has established as his government, which prevents his exercising mercy to the penitent except through the substitution of a victim to law.

And here, for the sake of averting an erroneous and an injurious judgment often visited by Orthodoxy upon our views, let a simple statement be strongly made. Orthodoxy, not through warrant of anything which Unitarianism proclaims, but by one of the unkind arts of controversy, attempts to confine our construction of the atoning death of Christ to the power and service of an example. We protest against the charge: we repel it. What some Unitarians may have recognized as a subsidiary and incidental lesson from the cross of Christ, ought not to be thus represented as exhausting our view of it. It is not our doctrine that the death of Christ becomes efficacious to us as an example, or even that it is especially needed or available in that direction. Christ is to us a victim, a sacrifice: his death was a sacrificial death. Its method and purpose and influence

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fix a new, a specific, a peculiar, an eminent meaning to the word *sacrifice*, when used of him. Indeed, the highest and most sacred signification of the word ought for ever to be associated with *his* sacrifice. But, in conformity with that deciding distinction already made as settled by the terms of a God-ward or a Man-ward intent in the cross, we regard Jesus as a sacrifice *for man*, but not as a sacrifice *to God*. The difference is an infinite one, as indicated by those two prepositions attached respectively to the creature and the Creator. We regard Christ as a victim offered by human sin for human redemption; as one who could not have been our Redeemer but by being "faithful unto death," and as a willing sacrifice for our redemption. He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and his murderers, as the Prophet had foretold that they would, had wrongly "esteemed him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted." (Isaiah liii. 4.) But instead of being "stricken of God," he was "wounded for our iniquities." "He tasted death for every man"; not *eternal* death, but death. He was nailed to the cross to secure our salvation, but not to make reparation for our sins to God.

If reconciliation between man and God be the object of the death, as of the life, the character, and the doctrine of Christ, the process for securing that reconciliation requires that the party who has been wronged shall announce first on what terms he will grant it, and that the offending party shall then yield to those terms. Men are the party in the wrong; they are to be brought to a sense of their sin, to be made acquainted with the terms which God proposes for forgiveness, and induced to comply with them. So complete has been the perversion of the simple Scripture terms of reconciliation which Orthodox views have for ages made current in the world, that there has been an actual inversion of the relations of parties. How frequently do Orthodox writers, as if wholly unconscious of the strange liberty which they take in wresting Scripture, allow themselves to speak of Christ as "reconciling *God* to us," instead of following Scripture, which always speaks of Christ as "reconciling *us* to God"! Indeed, the second of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, as also of the Episcopal Church in this country, speaks of

Christ's manifestation as designed "to reconcile his Father to us"! Such are the risks of false doctrine.

What, then, are the terms of reconciliation which God announces through Christ to men? The terms on which God offers forgiveness are such a faith in Christ as will lead us to realize his doctrine of our sinfulness, our hostility and alienation from God, and our consequent state of danger and condemnation; and further, such a faith in Christ as will persuade us of his authority to promise forgiveness on our repentance and future obedience, while at the same time we avail ourselves of those conditions and yield to the constraining influences of God's Holy Spirit. These are the terms which Unitarianism recognizes for reconciliation to God through Jesus Christ. If God will give us grace to fulfil these conditions, we will compound with ourselves for all anxiety about every "Governmental Theory" which the fancies of theologians can conjure up.

Orthodoxy recognizes these same terms of reconciliation, but adds to them another, looking, not man-ward but God-ward, for its necessity and its efficacy. Orthodoxy argues that violated law requires not only such a recognition of its authority as is offered to the lawgiver by a penitent offender, but also a victim, an expiation, to sustain and vindicate its honor. As God is the representative of that law, he requires that a substitute suffer for the penitent offender in order thus to sustain the authority of law. Christ was that suffering substitute to outraged law for us, and one of the effects of true and saving faith in him is to make us partakers in the merits of his God-ward sacrifice.

As Scripture affords not a single sentence which, even by the aid of a gloss or a false construction, can be used as a formula for stating *all the elements* comprehended in this Orthodox dogma, we will present some of the simplest announcements of it which we have found in the writings of theologians. Bishop Butler, all whose words seem to have been weighed in the scales of a calm and cautious wisdom, says: "Some have endeavored to explain the efficacy of what Christ has done and suffered for us, beyond what the Scripture has authorized; others, probably because they could not explain it, have been for taking it away, and confining his

office as Redeemer of the world to his instruction, example, and government of the Church. Whereas the doctrine of the Gospel appears to be, not only that he taught the efficacy of repentance, but rendered it of the efficacy which it is, by what he did and suffered for us; that he obtained for us the benefit of having our repentance accepted unto eternal life; not only that he revealed to sinners that they were in a capacity of salvation, and how they might obtain it, but moreover that he put them into this capacity of salvation by what he did and suffered for them,—put us into a capacity of escaping future punishment, and obtaining future happiness." He had before recognized it as among the teachings of revelation, "that the rules of the Divine government are such as not to admit of pardon immediately and directly upon repentance, or by the sole efficacy of it." He afterwards adds, in reference to the supposed Scriptural view of the purpose designed in Christ's sufferings, "Its tendency to vindicate the authority of God's laws, and deter his creatures from sin, has never yet been answered, and is, I think, plainly unanswerable; though I am far from thinking it an account of the whole of the case." "Let reason be kept to, and if any part of the Scripture account of the redemption of the world by Christ can be shown to be really contrary to it, let the Scripture, in the name of God, be given up; but let not such poor creatures as we go on objecting against an infinite scheme, that we do not see the necessity or usefulness of all its parts, and call this reasoning."*

This moderation is the very majesty of wisdom. Let us see what the modern Orthodoxy of New England says on the same point. Dr. Woods tells us, that "all the influence of repentance results from the death of Christ. Repentance is a means on our part of obtaining the good purchased by Christ's death." "Christ's death was appointed by God as a substitute for the punishment of sinners; it answered the same purposes; it made substantially the same display of God's attributes and the principles of his government, and has the same efficacy, though far superior in degree, to promote the permanent welfare of his kingdom." "A brief defi-

* Analogy, Part II. Chap. V.

ation of the Atonement, then, might be given in some such manner as this: It is Christ's obedience unto death, even the death of the cross in the place of sinners, for the purpose of vindicating the violated law, manifesting the righteousness of God, making expiation for sin, and procuring forgiveness, sanctification, and eternal life for all believers.* The strange confusion of ideas and terms which necessarily attaches to the Orthodox theology, presents a specimen of itself in the following sentences, when compared together. In his Eighth Letter to Unitarians, Dr. Woods says: "God would never have saved sinners, had not Christ interposed and made an atonement." Yet in his Ninth Letter he says: "It is uniformly the sentiment of the Orthodox, that the origin, the grand moving cause of redemption, was the infinite love, benignity, or mercy of God."

Very frequently we find the point of the Orthodox doctrine thus sharply presented: "Repentance is the *condition* of forgiveness with God, but the death of Christ is the *ground* on which that condition is effectual." "The *ground* of salvation is the completed work, the atoning merits of our Lord Jesus Christ: the *condition* of their bestowal on an individual is repentance." Such formulas as the following we might quote from many writers:—"The sufferings and death of Christ were necessary to make the exercise of the divine mercy to men consistent with the maintenance of divine justice." "Christ died for the purpose of removing an obstacle in the divine government, in the way of extending pardon to the penitent."

The Orthodox doctrine of the Atonement may, therefore, be regarded as concentrated now upon this "governmental theory," and as standing or falling with the proof or the failure of proof that this theory, owing nothing to the wit or fancy of man, is positively and clearly taught in the Scriptures. We have seen how positively and clearly its believers can state it, and this raises our demand, that, putting aside their own formulas, they should offer us instead "the law and the testimony," *and give us at least one text which includes all its essential terms*. It is something, however, to have the old shap-

* Dr. Woods's Works, Vol. II. pp. 404, 453, 463.

ings and concomitants once attached to the doctrine, as by good Mr. Flavel, withdrawn from our current religious literature. Those who, as professors in divinity schools, and as men of eminent distinction as theologians, are educating a new generation of ministers, will very soon introduce more or less important modifications in the popular belief by different constructions of this governmental theory. The fluctuations and tonings down of opinion which have reached that form of doctrinal statement are not likely to stop with it. If with due modesty we may intimate a conviction which the tendencies of thought, with some recent striking examples of the result of those tendencies, lead us to hold in strong assurance, we will say that this legal view of Christ's death must and will yield to a profounder Christian philosophy. Its best recommendation, its strength, consisted in the relief which it afforded to Orthodox believers when they were pressed by the objections to a more repulsive theory. It still has a strong sway over the sentiments; it will fail when tested by textual criticism and the logic of truth. Within the month, we have read three very able arguments against it by men who were educated to defend it, from three such different quarters as the Scotch Church, through J. McLeod Campbell, the English Church, by B. Jowett, and the Baptist Church in this country, by Dr. Sheldon. We must devote our little remaining space to a brief mention of a few of our many objections to this last phase of the old Orthodox doctrine of the Atonement. It might seem needless, yet, to avert misunderstanding or misrepresentation, we will here remind all readers, that we are not bringing our reason to bear against a doctrine of revelation, which may God forbid our ever doing, but against what we pronounce to be a human dogma constructively ascribed to revelation. It is against the Orthodox formula that we reason, — the formula which affirms that God, in order that he may exercise mercy towards the penitent, requires or accepts an expiatory offering made by innocence to his own law.

A governmental theory implies, in this use of the phrase, a law which restrains, or at least regulates, the perfect freedom of the working of the Divine administration over men. It was a prime essential in revelation

to make known this theory to us if it be true. But where are we to look for it in the explicit teachings of Scripture? What sentences, what single sentence, can be quoted as offering a direct, or even an indirect, intimation of it? Not one! This fettering himself with conditions of his own law, within which alone God can exercise the pardoning prerogative of a Supreme Monarch, must either have always attached to the Divine rule over men, or it must have been introduced in connection with the revelation of the Gospel by Jesus Christ. Now any single case by which, on the authority of inspiration, full forgiveness was promised on simple repentance, without reference to any implied or reserved condition, would prove that the Divine administration, as revealed to men, did not always recognize this limitation of the prerogative of mercy. Will any one venture to assert, that there are not many such cases plainly brought before us in the Old Testament? But when we allege any such case in which forgiveness is explicitly promised to repentance without a hint of any reserved condition, Orthodoxy makes a bold interpolation to meet the straits of its own theory, and urges that prospective faith in the mediatorial sacrifice of Christ was still the implied ground of the forgiveness. What violent dealing with Scripture would be necessary for the sake of interpolating this theory, will appear if we attempt to make the required insertion into any text. Thus, when Ezekiel says that a wicked man turning from his iniquities shall be forgiven and shall live, we must supply the words, "through the efficacy of a sacrifice which the expected Messiah is to offer to God." The emphatic sentence, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," must be made to read, "I will exercise mercy *on condition of a sacrifice.*" Jesus Christ emphatically announced the pardoning method of God's grace for penitent and renewed sinners, as exercised independently of any agency of his own. This method must, therefore, have been applicable to, and available for, those who lived before it was confirmed by his announcement of it. It must be as available for those who might never know of his announcement of it, as for Christians who receive it from his Gospel. It is in strict conformity with this view, as we learn from the Jewish Scrip-

tures, that there was no other condition attached in the former revelation to the promise of Divine forgiveness than penitence for the past and subsequent obedience. What else is the significance of such beautiful passages as the following, which gem the Old Testament: "To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him." (Daniel ix. 9.) "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy." (Prov. xxviii. 13.) "For thou desirest not sacrifice. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit." (Psalm li. 16, 17.)

Such were the explicit and benignant terms on which the pardoning prerogative of God was exercised before the mission of Christ. If we had only the Old Testament to instruct us, it may safely be affirmed that not a single believer or reader of it would imagine a governmental theory as standing between God and the exercise of his sovereign mercy. Christ came from God to proclaim a free and universal Gospel from the Father of all, to extend the blessings heretofore restricted to Jews to all the nations of the earth. In announcing the terms of the Divine forgiveness, did Christ introduce any alteration in those which were in force before? Did he take from them or add to them? In proclaiming anew the Divine mercy, did he make our enjoyment of it depend upon anything that he was himself to do or suffer with a view to satisfy God? Is his mediation, besides its manifest purpose of bringing us to repentance, designed to complement the deficiencies of that repentance as a tribute to the Divine administration? Did the death of Christ manifest that God had imposed a new condition for the exercise of his free grace? No! There is no evidence that Christ uttered one word about this governmental theory. It certainly does not appear in any case in which he himself announced forgiveness to the penitent. It is not recognized in the Parable of the Prodigal Son. We do indeed read in that parable of the killing of a fatted calf, in connection with the forgiveness and welcome of the repentant profligate; but it was to heighten the joy of a festival, not as the victim of outraged law. We find no hint of this theory in the Lord's Prayer, which teaches us to look for forgiveness from God on condition that we forgive others; nor any

hint of it in the absolution of the penitent woman, who was forgiven much because she loved much, and loved much because she was forgiven much. And let it be observed with emphasis, that if Christ impaired or restricted the terms of free forgiveness in the older dispensation, the Gospel, instead of being a freer and a wider, becomes a narrower covenant. The attempt to evade this objection by assigning to the penitents of the old dispensation a prospective faith or an anticipated interest in a sacrifice to God's law, to be offered by Christ, is a mere device of theologians, — a pure figment of their own fancy.* The governmental theory is compelled to cover with its benefit Jews who cannot be shown to have had any knowledge of it, and then it stands perplexed as to what it shall decide concerning the fate of the heathen, who certainly had no knowledge of it. This is indeed a sore perplexity to Orthodoxy. We take the substance of the sublime revelation made through Peter concerning a heathen man, — "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him" (Acts x. 34, 35), — as declaring a method of the merciful rule which our Father in heaven exercises over his children, independently of any grace won for them by a meritorious offering from Christ. It proves, at any rate, that God could show mercy to those who had never heard of Christ, and who had no conscious sense of obligation for his death. But Orthodoxy is confounded here by its own inventions. We have seen how decidedly Mr. Flavel and Dr. Hopkins utter themselves as to the hopelessness of the heathen. Bishop Butler was wiser on this point. In a note to the chapter which we have already quoted, he deprecates the inference, from anything that he says, "that none can have the benefit

* A fair specimen of the ingenuity of theologians in supplying the omissions of Scripture by the baldest inventions of their own fancy, is offered in the following sentence from the younger Edwards: "Did not Abraham and all the saints who lived before the incarnation of Christ, and who were informed that atonement was to be made for them by Christ, sincerely consent to it and earnestly desire it?" (Second Sermon on Grace consistent with Atonement. New Haven, 1785.) We do indeed read of those who "desired" to see and know in what the scheme of Revelation was to issue, without being gratified. But Edwards tells us that they not only knew, but consented to it!

of the general redemption, but such as have the advantage of being made acquainted with it in the present life." We find, too, that Orthodox theologians of the present day, who by the solvent of their philosophy make their creed elastic, are quite willing to allow that the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, as a legal offering, will impart its fullest benefits to multitudes who have had no knowledge of it. But what this admission gains in one direction it loses in another. For it is an express recognition that repentance is the actual condition of salvation for many, and the sole ground of it as known to them; that the death of Christ is so exclusively legal and Godward in its efficacy, that no motive or sentiment drawn from it is absolutely essential for its operation to the benefit of men; and also that the mediatorial office of Christ in heaven bears no definite relation to its scope on the earth. Now, if that expiation can avail for multitudes who are ignorant of it, and who draw no conscious motive or impulse from it, why should it be wholly nugatory, or even condemnatory, as it is said to be, for those who, finding every other grace in Christ, cannot believe that God required or that Christ made any legal expiation for them? Besides, the theory in this point of view is liable to much of the objection urged by Protestants to that of the supererogatory merits of the saints, by which a large balance of excess of merits was supposed to be set against the account of the eminently pious, and to be available to supply the deficiencies of those for whom these saints would intercede with God. Orthodoxy, in its milder moods, gives promise of salvation to the heathen, not from the unexhausted fulness of God's fount of mercy, but from the infinite balance entered upon the ledger-book of heaven to the atoning merits of Christ.

If it be asked, Why, under our view of the Gospel as proclaiming essentially the same message of free forgiveness on repentance which the elder dispensation announced, we should depend on Christ at all, and why we do not revert to the Old Testament Scriptures for our teaching? — we answer, that we are not Jews, but Gentiles, and that as Gentiles we receive the doctrine which we teach from Christ, as resting upon his authority. He is to us what the Law was to the

Jews. And this doctrine is, after all, the real point of harmony between the two dispensations.

Looking with a keen and earnest scrutiny into the terms of this governmental theory, we try them by the tests of Scripture, the logic of truth, and the uses of piety. The theory involves two conditions, both of which must be united in its statement, and be authenticated as its warrant:—

First, that suffering of an intense character must in some form or shape be offered by the guilty or the innocent as a tribute to the violated law of God; and that Divine mercy cannot possibly remit this penalty without making grace overthrow righteousness.

Second, that the death of Christ, by a method and in a compound nature which so intensified his agonies for a few hours as to make them an equivalent for the eternal woe of a doomed race of human beings, *is looked upon by God* as offering to him and to his law that needful penalty.

From the first verse of Genesis to the last verse of the Apocalypse, the Bible will be searched in vain for a sentence which expresses either of these two terms of the governmental theory. The search for a sentence which contains them both may therefore be pronounced hopeless. Give us one such sentence from the lips of Christ, or by authority from him, and we will accept the theory as of revelation from God. The Bible knows nothing of a Divine Mercy bound in the chains of Legality. Mercy is there represented as the supreme attribute of God, and not as needing a device to compensate its relaxing of judgment. The limitless expanses of the universe, the unmeasured space up from the earth to the heaven in one direction, and from the east to the west in another, are made the measurements of its scope. "Mercy rejoiceth against judgment," and rejoiceth over it,—not one word being interposed about legality. The God who from the infinite fountain of his love can forgive, can from the mildness of his sceptre remit.

We object to the governmental theory, that it is altogether an inferential, constructive theory, artificially wrought out by the brains of theologians, not distinctly revealed nor directly taught in the Scriptures. Take the simplest form of language in which it has ever been

stated, and observe how far short of its assertion any passage of the Scripture will fall that may be quoted in proof of it. We grant that Orthodoxy, by the aid of *inference* and *construction* and *ingenuity*, can make out an argument of considerable plausibility in support of this theory. By culling and bringing together scattered texts of Scripture, and relying upon the associations which for a length of time have been attached to them through the sharper view of the doctrine of the Atonement, and then by skilfully arranging these texts and assimilating their repelling elements by a logic quite natural to theologians, a marvellous show of apparent authority may be claimed for the theory. In practised hands, guided by an earnest heart and a mind already prepossessed by Orthodox influence, the theory admits of quite a forcible statement. When subtilty of reasoning, and partiality of interpretation, and ardent piety qualified by the restraints of dogma, engage upon this theory, the result even looks formidable to some who feel that they are held to withstand it. The strength of the theory now lies in old associations attached to texts under the influence of another view of the sacrificial doctrine. A perfect mosaic-work of symbols, phrases, and sentences, picked from between the covers of the Bible, polished down and filled in and held together by the cement of human ingenuity, is made to produce, by a highly artificial process, such a representation as will answer to an immolated victim who is pleading with Heaven, not with earth. Certain glowing Orientalisms of speech which have a free and lofty spiritualism, and some ritualistic images of quite a different tone, are wrought together, and petrified into hard literalisms, and stiffened into forms which, when reproduced in our own language, are false to the truth. As Mr. Jowett has remarked in his *Essay on the Atonement*, — so significant a production as coming from an Oxford theologian, — “Where the mind is predisposed to receive this theory, there is scarcely a law or a custom or rite or purification or offering in the Old Testament which may not be transferred to the Gospel.” It has often been cast as a reflection upon Unitarians, that in their discourses they have allowed some of the sacrificial terms applied to Christ in the Epistles to fall out of their common use.

We know not but that the censure has the apparent justification of fact. But if so, it would be averted by those whom it concerns, by the plea, that, though Unitarian theologians find no difficulty whatever, nor the slightest embarrassment, in the real significance of such terms, they do believe that very erroneous associations have warped and perverted them for popular use. Mr. Jowett has admirably indicated the process by which the writers of those Epistles through force of their own previous associations with the shambles and altars of sacrifice, were led to cast some of their Christian conceptions in the mould of their own former ideas. If to this fact—a fact which critical Scripture students will less and less be disposed to question as their noble toil advances—be added an allowance for the associations which Calvinistic theology has connected with the sacrificial terms of the Epistles, we should find it no difficult work to justify a temporary disuse of some phrases of misconstrued Scripture. When popular views have been recast, and popular belief has been conformed to the Scriptural doctrine, old language and old imagery may suggest their true meaning.

But we have dropped that plea in defence of others; for ourselves we do not need it. We also have gathered together every sentence from the New Testament, and from the Old too, which Orthodoxy works into the mosaic composition and statement of its governmental theory. We have the fair transcript before us. We know, we think we know, the force and meaning of such sentences, and the significance of most of them. And again we say, that they do not contain or intimate either, much less both, of the two conditions stated above as entering into the governmental theory. It is claimed that the Orthodox have a great advantage over us in this, that while we have to make a somewhat vague and undefined statement to express the mode of efficacy of the death of Christ, they are able to state it very definitely. True. But while *they* have to state it in terms and phrases and formulas of their own, instead of allowing *Scripture* to state it for them, the advantage on their side is at least neutralized. We had rather take refuge under the large ambiguities of some Scripture phrases, than define them rigidly by adding phrases of our own.

While we have laid down our pen within the last hour, we have read the following sentence in the columns of the week's paper of our "Congregationalist" brethren (May 2): "The Lamb of God, slain for the *forgiveness* of human sins." The sentence is a very definite one; but it is equally unwarrantable as a most startling perversion of Scripture.

The Bible teaches us that the whole plan of redemption, with all its incidents and stages, was contemporaneously arranged in the Divine mind. It was a continuous scheme slowly developed to the knowledge and experience of man. Inspired prophets caught anticipatory glimpses of stages in it which were not to be realized till long after their day. The scheme was to culminate in a suffering Messiah. The Lamb was slain, his death was foreseen at the very commencement of the dispensation: "before the foundation of the world." Now the fact that the scheme *results* in the death of Christ has led to the inference that the death of Christ under a legal view of its purpose was really the *substance* of the scheme, and that, as no stage of it had any significance except what it derives from the result, so the legal view of the death of Christ is in truth the whole substance of the scheme of revelation. If this is not an inferential and constructive theory, we should be at loss to find one among all the conceptions of human brains. We believe that each step and process in the scheme was complete in its operation for its own date in time, and for the subjects of it. The old Hebrews did indeed "drink of the spiritual rock which followed them, which rock was Christ," but it was because the virtue of the whole scheme was concentrated in every element in it. "The mystery which had been hid from ages and generations" was the result which was "made manifest" only to Christians; but its blessings were not deferred till its disclosure, nor made dependent on the method of its disclosure.

Orthodoxy enters into an elaborate argument to prove that the sacrificial offerings of the Old Testament were all typical of the great sacrifice, and took their validity from that. How inconclusive and defective and inconsistent that argument is, will, we think, appear to every one who will examine it without prepossession. It fails

at the application of each test of criticism, evidence, authority, and analogy. Not the most distant intimation is given in the Old Testament that the ritual sacrifices looked beyond themselves to an anticipation of the sacrifice of Christ. Not a word can be quoted from Lawgiver, Prophet, or Priest, to prove that such a reference was had in view. The aim and efficacy of those sacrifices were complete in themselves; and a close study of all that is enjoined in connection with those sacrifices will persuade us of the very slight importance attached to them except in a ceremonial way. They are not invested with the awe, nor set forth with the solemnity, which would belong to them as the shadows cast back from the cross. The only one of all the offerings of the Jews which was said to "bear the sin of the people," was not immolated, sacrificed, or slain, but was sent off into the wilderness. It is remarkable, likewise, that the Levitical sacrifices were enjoined in a routine way, without the slightest reference to the state of mind or feeling with which they were offered. It was not them *and repentance*, according to the priestly ritual, but *them alone*. The Prophets seem even to have stood as protesters against the Priests in this matter, in insisting upon the worthlessness of the offering except as it indicated a contrite heart, which was the better of the two. But what the Prophets thus insisted upon as the greater, namely, humiliation, contrition, and repentance, the governmental theory would persuade us were all secretly subordinated to a prospective sacrifice. When we quote to our opponents the sentiment approved by Jesus, — that to love God and one's neighbor "is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices" (Mark xii. 33), — the reply is, "that is the very loftiest and most exacting demand of the Law, exhaustive, impossible of obedience by us, and therefore, as we do not come up to it, we need a sacrifice for us." No! we rejoin. We need mercy. In no instance recorded does Christ make a retrospective reference to the effect that he is giving efficacy to the repentance of penitents under the old dispensation. Nor can any assertion be quoted as from him, that under all circumstances, whenever and wherever a sinner is redeemed and saved, it is on condition or in consequence of his death.

Yet not only from the Jewish, but even from the heathen sacrifices, would Orthodoxy draw types and foreshadowings of a great legal victim. The foul and impious offerings of Paganism, brute and human, with all their revolting horrors, are made to yield one gleaming ray of pure light as testifying to the strong instinctive conviction of the human heart that God must be approached, even by penitence, with a propitiation. When we attempt to bring home to our thoughts the fearful reality intimated in this incidental illustration of the governmental theory, so intense is the horror which it excites, that, were it not for the restraining influence of Christian respect for those with whom we differ, we should charge them with confounding the purest and holiest element of the Gospel with the most hideous element of heathenism. We utterly and almost indignantly reject this dreadful fancy. We reject it alike in its use of heathen and of Jewish sacrifices. It seems to us a most degrading view of the redeeming work of the holy Jesus to say that his final offering of love had been foreshadowed for ages in the sacrifices of brute beasts. Strained visions of prophets and kings, longing hopes of devout hearts in humble scenes of life, and angelic anthems ringing their symphonies in the ears of shepherds, are the befitting heraldings of "the desire of all nations." But the bloody shambles of fed beasts and the reeking altars of a blinded idolatry, are images which no transfiguration can elevate into types of the Lamb of God.

God had forbidden the Jews to offer human sacrifices, as abhorrent to him. We tremble as we ask the question which forces itself upon us, — Would God signalize the abrogation of the Jewish code by offering for men a human victim, and thus make the crowning act of human sin the essential condition for the expiation of all sin? It is Mr. Jowett of Oxford who uses the words, "the greatest of human crimes, that redeems the sin of Adam by the murder of Christ."

We have said, that we had before us all the passages from the Bible which connect our redemption with the sufferings of Christ, and that we had weighed their import, without finding in them either, still less both, of the terms involved in the governmental theory. We

are not about to quote those passages to show how each of them falls short of authenticating that theory. With the briefest glance over specimen passages of such a tenor, we gather sentences like these:—"he hath borne our griefs"; "he was wounded for our transgressions"; "the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed"; "his soul" [his life] was made "an offering for sin"; "he bore our sins"; "he purged our sins"; "he suffered for our sins"; he died "for the remission of our sins"; he "laid down his life for us"; "he redeemed us to God by his blood" [his death]; "he gave his life a ransom for many"; "he was delivered for our offences"; "he is the propitiation [the mercy-seat] for the sins of the whole world." But where in all these sentences, looking *man-ward* for all the solemn and sacrificial efficacy of the sufferings they express, do we find any intimation of a God-ward design, necessity, or working of a legal expiation? We read, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." It is the *sin* which he takes away. But the governmental theory would require the passage to read, "who taketh away the *punishment* of the world." We read, that "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us." (Gal. iii. 13.) Leaving unnoticed the confusion caused to our minds by the use of the word Law to define both the Mosaic and the moral law, which makes us uncertain whether the Apostle meant more than that the death of Christ relieved Gentiles from subjection to the old legal code, we remind ourselves that it was man, not God, who made Christ "a curse," and treated him as if he were accursed. We read, "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin." (2 Cor. v. 21.) The Rev. A. P. Stanley, of Oxford, Canon of Canterbury, in his recent work on the Epistles to the Corinthians, construes the passage thus: "He was enveloped, lost, overwhelmed in sin and its consequences, so far as he could be without himself being sinful." And he paraphrases it thus: "The object for which He devoted the sinless One to the world of sin was, that I, and you with me, might, through and with that sinless One, be drawn into the world of righteousness." The scholarly works of Jowett and Stanley are most profitable study for those who are

resolved that the Apostles shall not use a single trope, or other rhetorical figure, without having it urged into a literal interpretation. If a thousand passages of a tenor similar to the above were to be quoted from Scripture, they would all fail of conveying, by any fair interpretation, an idea of Christ's death as a sacrifice *to God*. There is indeed one passage which speaks of Christ's offering for us as "a sacrifice to God." But the very aroma of the phrase connected with it relieves it of its literal construction. The sacrifice of Christ must have been of such a nature, that we can regard it as "a sweet-smelling savor" to God. (Eph. v. 2.) The song of the redeemed in the Apocalypse to Christ is, "Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood [thy death]." (Rev. v. 9.) This is the burden of the whole Gospel strain. But where do we find in it an intimation of the legal theory of a substituted victim to God? It is characteristic of all the figures of speech used in the Scriptures, that they are constantly varied, played upon, presented in changing aspects, balancing and mutually explaining each other. Christ is not only called the Redeemer, but also the *ransom money*; not only the payer of our debt, but also the *price* of our discharge; he not only bears or takes up, lifts and carries, our *sins*, but he also bears our *diseases*. But who would force either of these terms to such an interpretation as would compel us to say that Christ became palsied, deaf, and blind, in the process of relieving human maladies? The very variety of the symbols and images used concerning him indicates that they are symbols and images.

If we submit the governmental theory to the test of logic, we find it assailable and vulnerable at the very points in which it most needs to be strong. It may be a misconception of our own, but we think we discern in most modern statements a shrinking from a full, direct, unqualified expression of it, while affectionate and deprecatory phrases are connected with it. Now if it is to be asserted, let it be with all the frankness and boldness becoming a fundamental theory of the relations between God and man. To our minds, the title of legality, the very idea and substance of law in the sense of equity, are perverted in the theory. We are told that the law is

outraged, and the sanctions of justice are defied, if the guilty, even when penitent, are freely forgiven. But into our very idea of law enters the condition, that the penalties of its violation, if inflicted at all, shall be visited on the transgressor. Which contingency would the more peril our reverence for law, the remission of its penalties, or the infliction of them on the innocent? Etymologists derive our word *mercy* from the Latin *merces*, a reward or payment; and they tell us that the connection, which is in fact a separation, of the meanings is to be explained thus,—that when the next of kin to a murdered person received a money equivalent for the murder, he yielded to the payment and returned mercy. It is a most tortuous definition, and is, we think, in this respect, similar to the working of the governmental theory. When Orthodoxy fetters God's exercise of mercy by the restraints of his penal law, it forgets that the Divine Lawgiver can harmonize his own laws of justice and of mercy. Mr. Jowett says, in his *Essay on the Atonement*, that the theory affirms "that there were some impossibilities in the nature of things which prevented God from doing otherwise than he did. Thus we introduce a moral principle superior to God, just as in the Grecian mythology fate and necessity are superior to Jupiter." He also says, that the view of the sufferings of Christ, as a sort of "satisfaction to God," "interposes a painful fiction between God and man." Orthodoxy makes the difficulty which it professes to find for God in looking for a device for mediating between his mercy and his justice. Not regarding penitence as a competent mediation, it interposes a victim. The Apostle speaks of God's being "just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus," as if the two assertions were identical. Orthodox pleaders are in the habit of interpolating the word *yet* in the sentence, thus, "and *yet* the justifier," &c., as if the two assertions needed reconciling. Even Professor Stuart makes that interpolation when he quotes the passage.

We shrink from following the lead of Orthodox disputants into the dread audacity of seeking to define and measure the degree of intensity in the sufferings endured by Christ. Sure we are, that no statement of Scripture presents the question of the *amount* of those sufferings

as deciding their *purpose*. If there be one point in this controversy which, from the shock it causes to our sensibilities, we should pronounce to be forbidden ground to all parties, it is this. We have much of bold and offensive assertion upon it, copied from various writers lying before us, but we forbear to transfer it to our pages. Calvin, arguing from the Saviour's momentary dismay, that his sufferings were more than human, says: "What disgraceful effeminacy would this have been to be so distressed by the fear of a common death, as to be in a bloody sweat, and incapable of being comforted without the presence of angels!"* But the younger Edwards emphatically declares that the suffering "was barely that of the *man* Christ Jesus," as "the Eternal Logos was not capable of enduring misery."† And yet there is something vital to the theory before us dependent upon the ascribing an intensified degree of suffering to Christ, in order that his suffering might be of infinite value. The Orthodox dogma is to us hopelessly confused here by variance of testimony and definition among its general advocates. Some, with Calvin and Hopkins, tell us that God died. Others tell us that this is impossible in fact, and unallowable in statement, while, like Dr. Pond, they ascribe some influence from the Divine nature to what was endured in the human nature of Christ. But Orthodoxy perils its theory by definitions and explanations. What was it for God to pass through the show of dying as a man? It could not be real tragedy. Was it a drama? No! It was *real* in what it was, not fiction in anything. The pleading petition of Christ, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me!" is to us inexplicable, if Jesus had entered into a covenant with God by the terms of which he knew that the removal of an obstacle in the way of the exercise of Divine mercy to all our race depended upon his sacrifice to God. The petition needs no explanation, if, in conformity with the view we have presented of the consistency between such a close of his ministry and its whole tenor, Jesus for a moment addressed to his Father the struggle of his own spirit, "Must I drink of this cup?"

* Institutes, Book II. Chap. XVI.

† Third Sermon on Atonement and Free Grace.

If we wished to make an exhaustive statement of the objections to be offered against even the consistency of this legal theory with the elementary principles and the majestic equities of true law, we should need the space which we have already used. Especially should we urge with earnestness, that forgiveness on penitence does not in any case peril the authority of the Divine law. One who has truly repented needs no dramatic offering to impress him with an adequate sense of the evil of all sin. His own breast is the best testimony to him. The forgiven penitent is not harmed by the exercise of mercy toward him; the impenitent sinner is not hardened by the announcement of mercy to the contrite. All the attempted analogies which Orthodoxy tries to institute between school discipline, or human tribunals, and the Divine administration, fail at the most important points. Of course, a judge on the bench of a human court cannot discharge a professedly repentant criminal. The judge cannot know if the penitence be sincere, nor has the criminal sinned in matters which injure only that judge, nor does the judge make or execute the law. But do we err in intimating that, if by any infallible test human tribunals could know what criminals of every degree had thoroughly turned from all wickedness to righteousness, the voice of the merciful in a community might plead for their discharge? An analogy drawn between the parental government of a household and the Divine administration would give us the best illustration of what a mild but firm method of law and benignity requires. A kind parent asks only for contrition in an erring child. He forgives the penitent. His law is satisfied.

What shall we say, too, of this legal theory, as respects the terms by which God is to forgive all the sin that is ever henceforward to be committed by the unborn millions of our race who shall live on the earth? God has already received the funded payment which shall make their repentance available for forgiveness, says the theory. All coming sinners are to plead an interest in the past sacrifice of Christ. The victim which was by anticipation available for the penitents of old times, is by retrospection available for all future time. "How am I to be forgiven for the sins I may commit next year?"

asks one who hopes that up to to-day he is pardoned. "Draw upon the infinite fund of purchased grace," is the answer. Not in irony, not for offence upon the cherished convictions of any disciple, but in serious perplexity, in troubled anxiety, do we express something beyond mere misgivings here. And in the same spirit, deprecating intended offence, we utter what comes to our thoughts. When Tetzels, the broker of the indulgences sent forth by the Pope, sold for money tickets of pardon for past sins, Roman casuistry might plead that the pardon granted by them was merely a remission of ecclesiastical penalties. But when he proposed to furnish for a graduated scale of prices tickets which should absolve offenders for any sins they might in future commit, his traffic presented itself to Luther in the shame of its full enormity. We disclaim utterly any analogy here with anything in the legal theory. We adduce the instance merely to define this one objection, that sins which are virtually forgiven before they are committed must lose something of their dread for the conscience, while repentance for them is divested of something of its imperative necessity as the operative condition of pardon.

We have but a word to utter in conclusion bearing upon the relation between the governmental theory of Atonement and the uses of piety. No word of ours shall question the testimony of the believers of that theory, as confessing to its power over their own hearts. Into the sanctuaries of human breasts we will not intrude, certainly not as disputants. We challenge an oft-repeated assertion simply as it indicates an attempt to monopolize a disciple's love and reverence and gratitude to Christ, and to insist that the grace of his reconciliation shall flow to the human heart only in one channel. It is claimed that the Orthodox view of the Atonement is pre-eminently, almost exclusively, favorable to true Christian piety; that from contemplating Christ as such a sacrifice for such an intent, and as making by such a method our peace with God, the heart is most profoundly penetrated with horror for sin, with a sense of the need, the cost, and the value of redemption, and that the fervor and glow and gratitude of that heart are thus most effectually kindled toward the Saviour. Be it so

to all who can thus testify. They cannot love Christ too much, whatever be their view of the grounds or method of that love. What he has done for us admits of no measurement, and it is for what he has done that he claims the full tribute of our hearts. But may we suggest, not from theory, but from the recorded experience of Christians of various communions, that Christian hearts have chosen different central truths, different symbols of piety, different images and objects out of the rich treasures of devotion to set before them in their various shrines and oratories? The Roman Catholic exalts beyond all other sacred and fond objects in his heart, the Virgin Mary. Her graces and sorrows, her sword-pierced breast, her motherly office for God, her queenly prerogative in heaven, and the prevalence of her intercession, have made her to millions of professed Christians the fountain of their piety, the altar of their worship, the sweet assurance of all their faith. The most acute dialectics of the most skilful apologists of Romanism cannot make clear to the least prejudiced of Protestants how "devotion to Mary" differs from what the Christian owes to God. Again, the mystic pietist finds the central theme of his devotion, and the fullest nourishment for his spiritual affections, in the "Divine Love." His highest moods of peace and joy and faith are ministered to when he yields himself to the fruition of the sentiment to which he gives expression in those words of unfathomed meaning. Other types of Christian piety, comprehending larger or smaller numbers of affiliated souls, engage the inner choice of classes of Christian disciples, according to the delicacy, the culture, the depth, the intelligence, or the refinement of their whole being. It is unwise and unsafe to attempt to concentrate the whole motive energy of piety upon any one truth or element of a universal religion. Each grateful heart is free to express its own experience, and to indicate the point of view in which the Gospel scheme gathers for itself the brightest beams of all the light that it reflects from heaven. But beyond this expression of personal experience, we question the right of any heart to give rules for the method of spiritual radiation to other hearts. And especially would we object to any theory which makes a formula upon the method of rec-

onciliation through Christ to monopolize or to exhaust the compass of the Gospel influence over the various sympathies and exercises of human hearts.

And now we have to confront the conclusion to which our long, and we fear wearisome, debate has brought us. Orthodoxy, not willing to allow each believer to interpret to his own mind and heart the Scripture method of the efficacy of Christ's reconciling work, insists that its own constructive view expressed in its doctrinal formula must be accepted as the condition of acknowledged Christian discipleship. Because we reject this constructive view, we are pronounced to be outside of the pale of Evangelical communion. We regret the decision. We regret it on account of the Orthodox themselves, for it compels us to qualify our respect and affection for them, seeing that they usurp a right which their Master and ours never gave them, and seeing that they prove faithless to their own Protestant principles. We regret the decision on our own account, for we should love to share the sympathies, and to participate in the labors and hopes and noble enterprises of those whom we still regard as brethren in Christ. We regret the decision, but we will not mourn over it. It has no ecclesiastical penalties to visit upon us for which we care one straw. It has now no inquisition, no ballot-box even, to turn its dogmatic test into a torment or an annoyance. It cannot deprive us of Christian fellowship, for whatever we may say of numbers, we have a fellowship of our own, of men and women, who, while they consent to reject in every shape and form the dogma of a God-ward efficacy in the living or the dying work of Christ, accord in a better and a more tender view of the great Redemption, as devised by the love of God, and perfected by the love of Christ. We too love him because he laid down his life for us.

G. E. E.

ART. IV.—THE TWO TEMPLES.

ON the banks of the Rhine river,
In the far-off German land,
A temple, with the time-frost hoary,
Scarred and worn by age, doth stand.
Faith built it in the ages dark,
When faithful work was prayer,
As an offering and an anthem
To the God of Everywhere.

For the rearing there were given
Wealth of noble, vassal's mite, —
Costly gifts of weeping Magdalene,
And of Saintship's heavenly light.
Iron from the deep, dark underground,
And the treasures of the wood, —
Granite from the purple Rhine hills,
Borne adown its restless flood.

Rich in vestments for its altars,
And the dust of kingly dead ;
Paintings rare of ancient masters,
Jewelled Cross of Christ, the Head :
Built up by holy Sacrament,
Of Strength, and Trust, and Prayer,
By the lifting of the spirit
To the Son of Mary fair.

And still the workman laboreth
On this temple high and hoar ;
Still uprising, though unfinished,
As a gift for evermore.
Waiting, in its age and grandeur,
For the Present now to build
What the Past with speechless longing
Left a promise unfulfilled.

Listening underneath its shadows
When the city's din is still,
And the moonlight and the starlight
Lie on river, rock, and hill ;
As a message high and holy,
Sent from dearest ones afar,
Of the kinship and the brotherhood
That linketh star to star, —

With the rush of the Rhine waters,
And the whispers of the night,
Comes another voice unto me,
With its message pure and bright,
Telling of a Spirit temple,
That by rushing waters stands,
Built up in deepest mystery,
Framed by no human hands,

For whose rearing there were given
Fruits of sea and of the earth,
Harvest of the Past and Present,
Wherein lies the Future's birth :—
The roundness of the ancient hills,
The stretch of the wide plain,
The green lines of the babbling brooks,
The homeless deserts of the Main ;

Mild glories of night's mantle gemmed,
And the splendors of the day,
The warmth of suns, the rush of worlds
As they hurry on their way ;
Song of the Beautiful earth sings,
The whisperings of the trees,
Voices of Life woke by the Spring,
Grand cadences of seas ;

Ancient heritage of the heroic,
And of martyrs, pressing on,
Record high of former worship,
Ringing shouts for victory won ;
Visions blest of firm endurance,
For the Holy and the True,
Of the Manlike and the Godlike,
Ever old, and ever new ;

Crowns of conquest resting gently
On the brows of Saintship pure,
Staff of strength for pilgrim weary,
Ever helping, ever sure ;
Blest boon of costly Motherhood,
The sacred aid of Wife,
Smile of Sister, speech of Brother,
Gift of Children, Light of life.

In this temple, grand and solemn,
Heaven-lighted paintings stand,
Speaking of the high and lowly,
Of another clime and land ;
Of the Now and the Hereafter,
And the meanings they contain ;
Of the strength of the victorious,
Of the fight to be maintained.

And the temple holy standeth
Shadowing o'er the watery way,
And the tides of life sweep by it,
Raging round its stones for aye,
And the Present to me calleth,
Minding me to look and see
How this temple grand was given
As a heritage to me ; —

Speaking words of highest wisdom
Of the building that should be,
Of this temple framed and fashioned
By the God of earth and sea.
Unto me the builder calling,
In the name of the Most High,
To be just and true, and ready
For the labors that are nigh ; —

Building by the plan once given
By the Lord of quick and dead,
The Cross of Christ the Master,
Of the earthly Church the Head ;
Laying the foundations firmly
On the Rock of Ages strong,
Building up a temple surely
Fit for praise, and prayer, and song.

And I hear new voices rising
From sea and earth and sky,
And the Ages, my Life teachers,
Pass with noiseless footsteps by ;
And the meaning of my present
Has clearer to me grown,
The " still, small voice " within me
Saying oft, in sweetest tone : —

The Mysteries and the Meanings,
 Voices, Beauty, Light, and Life,
 The sorrowing of the Human,
 And the fierce, unchanging strife,
 Matter's splendor, spirit's majesty,
 The Substance of the soul, —
 These were given, thou Life builder,
 For perfecting of the Whole.

Work for aye upon the building
 By no mortal footsteps trod ;
 Grandeur far than Earthly Minster,
 " Temple of the living God."

N. H. C.

ART. V. — THE ORIGIN OF ANCIENT NAMES OF COUNTRIES, CITIES, INDIVIDUALS, AND GODS.

WE shall endeavor, in the following article, to show that the proper names of Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Babylon, Egypt, Phœnicia, and Judæa, more especially the names of places and of the gods, are generally compound words containing within them the names of the sun-gods Ab, Ak, Am, Ar, As, At, El, and On.

In this inquiring age it is time that the composition of names which are associated with the legends or the history of the ancient world should receive proper attention. Before the mission of the Saviour, the more intelligent among the Romans had formed the opinion that the various "great gods" of the nations had much in common, notwithstanding the different attributes ascribed to them and the difference of their names. Hercules, Osiris, Janus, Zeus, Jupiter, and many more, were regarded as the same deity, allowing for the difference of ideas which must be expected to exist among different nations on the same subject.

It has been said that Roman polytheism has but two "great gods," Heaven and Earth, — Cœlum and Terra. In the fourth century, Ausonius treats prominent gods of several nations as the same deity under different names : —

“Ogygia me Bacchum vocat ;
 Osirin Ægyptus putat ;
 Mysi Phanacem nominant ;
 Dionyson Indi existimant ;
 Romana Sacra Liberum,
 Arabica Gens Adoneum.”

“Ogygia calls me Bacchus ;
 Egypt thinks me Osiris ;
 The Mysians name me Phanax ;
 The Indi consider me Dionysus ;
 The Roman Sacra call me Liber ;
 The Arabian race, Adonis.”

The Rhodian oracle declares Atys or Attis to be Adon-is, Bacch-us, and Dionusus :—

“Magnum Atten placate Deum qui castus Adonis
 Evius est, Largitor opum, pulcher Dionysus.”

Not only is there a coincidence in the general idea which the ancients had of the deities, but often there is a very great verbal resemblance in their names. They are frequently exactly the same word.

The appellations of the gods are generally translated or explained by words of the same sound in the language of the country where the name belongs. For instance, the word *Salii*, the priests of Hercules, and of Mars in Italy, is usually derived from *salio*, “to leap”: we prefer to derive it from *Sol* or *Ausel*, the sun, and compare it with the *Selli* mentioned in *Homer*, priests of *Jupiter*, who were also called *ἑλλοί* (*Helloi*), from *El* or *Äsel*, the sun ; *ἡλη*, *ἡλη* (*Hele*), *alea* or *halea* (*Δεα*), and *halo* (in English), mean the same. We have the Etruscan *Usil*, and *Ausel*, names of the sun.

Aphrodite, the Grecian name of *Venus*, is supposed to be formed from *ἀφρός*, “the foam of the sea.” We think it a compound of *Abar*, the sun, the shining *Bar* of the Assyrian inscriptions, and *Adad* (pronounced *Atad* or *Adat*), the sun ; like *Adittha*, the name of an ancient city on the *Euphrates*, and *Adit-ya*, the Sanskrit name of the spirits of light.

As a younger race, the Greeks would naturally borrow many ideas from the more advanced nations of Asia Minor, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, and Mesopotamia ; just as we are indebted to Europe for the large

proportion of the books read by us. Were their deities entirely the creation of the Hellenic mind? Was *Adon-is*, the beloved of Venus, originally a Grecian deity, or is he of Assyrian origin? Movers, in his account of the Phœnicians,* says that the *first* syllable of *Sar-dan-apalus*, the Assyrian king and deity-name, is the word *Asar*, *Azar*, or *Asur*, a name of the Assyrian Mars. The *second* syllable, "*dan*," is *Adān*, which is again found in *Asar-adon*, or *Esar-haddon*, a king's name, and is plainly *דָּאן* (*Adan*) without the A. It is *דָּר*, the Carthaginian *Don*; and is very common in Assyrian names, like *Merodach-Baal-adan*, *Nabu-zar-adan*, the captain of the guard, mentioned in the Bible.

To these words, instanced by Movers, we may add the names of *Bel-Adon(im)-sha*, ruler at Khorsabad, *Neb-uch-adon-ossar* or *Neb-uch-ad.n-ezzar*, *Abi-dan* or *Pha-ethon*, *San-dan*, the Assyrian Mars, *Tana-is* or *Athena* (*Minerva*); *Dan*, *Tina*, *Jupiter-Tinia*, *Dan-iel*, *-Oth.n-iel*, *-N-athan-iel*, *-N-athan*, *Jon-athan*, *Adonai*, *Adoni-bezek*, *Adoni-ram*, *Adoni-kam*, *Adoni-jah*, *-Dona-paris* or *-Dni-eper*, *Adon*, *Ari-ad.ne*, and *Udine*, a place in Italy.

Adon-(is) is the sun. He was said to pass six months with Venus and six months with Proserpine. "*Adon-is* or *Adonai* was an Oriental title of the sun."† In the Bible, we have "the children of Eden which were in Thel-asar,"‡ and the garden of *Adan* (*Eden*) in Genesis. Other forms of *Adan* (*Adonis*, the sun-god) are *Ham-adan*, the capital of Media, *Tina*, the name of *Jupiter* in Italy, *Tina*, the name of a place in Arabia, *Atten* (as *Adon-is* is called by the Rhodian oracle), and *Pos-idon*, the name of *Nep-tune* (*Nep* is the Assyrian *Nebo*, *Mercury*; *-tune* is *Adan*, the Mesopotamian sun-god). In the North of Europe, *Adan* is *Odin*, the Scandinavian king and god. We have the Bible-names *Adin* and *Adino*, the names of persons, *M-idian*, of a country, *Diana*, a goddess of Italy, *M-ethone*, an ancient city, called also *M-odon*. We have the river *Don*, in Russia, the *Ther-m-odon*, which empties into the Black Sea, not very far from *Trebizond*, and the *Udon*, which flows

* Page 479.

† R. P. Knight. See Anthon's Class. Dict., Art. *Adonis*.

‡ 2 Kings xix. 12.

into the Caspian Sea. There is the river *Jor-dan* in Palestine, the *Jar-dan*, a river in Greece, another river of the same name in the island of Crete, and a hero, *Jar-dan-es*. Jar is the fire-god Ar, a part of the word Jer-usalem, the ancient Salem (compare the Bible-name Jehova-Shalom, also *Ab-salom*, and *Salomi*).

The Greek *Hermes* or *Hermeias* (*Mercury*) is said to be the Median word *Sarameyas*, "who leads the souls to Hades" (*h* being the softened form of *s*). It is evident that the Greeks took the names *Adan* (*Adonis*) and *Hermeias* (*Mercury*) wholly from "the East." But an attentive examination of the composition of proper names — *Nebuchadonossar*, *Nebo* (*Mercury*), *Achad* (the sun), *Adan* (*Adon-is*), *Ossar* (*Oseir-is*); *Nabocolassar*, *Nabo* (*Mercury*), *Ac* (the fire-sun), *El* (the sun), *Asar* (*Mars*), the sun-god; *Nabopolassar*, *Nabo* (*Mercury*), *Apol* (*Apollo*), *Assar* (*Mars*) — suggests the idea that many of the names of the ancient world will be found to be made up of *other names* of one and two syllables. They may finally be reduced to eight *names of sun-gods* of one syllable each, which, variously compounded together, make up the names of gods, kings, rivers, countries, and cities. They are *Ab*, *Ak*, *Am*, *Ar*, *As*, *At* (*Ad*), *El*, and *On* (*Ani*).

Ab, *Ap*, or *Op* is an old name of the sun in Italy. In Egypt it is *Api*, *Hapi*, and *Ap-is* (*Phi-os*, an Egyptian king). In Babylon and Persia it is *Ab* or *Av*. We find *Sal-ap-ia*, a city of *Ap-ul-ia* in Italy (*Sol-Ap*), *Zal-aph*, a Bible-name, *Sal-ap-eni*, a people of Arabia, *Ap-ia*, Greece, the land of *Ap*, the sun; *Iap-ygia*, a name of *Magna Græcia* in Italy, "Auf," an Arab divinity, *Joab*, a Hebrew captain, and *Job*; also *Jub-al* and *Jab-al*, names of old Hebrew deities or patriarchs. Compare *Abi-el*, *Ab-el* (*Ap-ollo*), and 'Απ-ελλ-ων, "the fighter."

Ani, a name of the sun in Assyria, is in Egypt and Syria *On*. In Greece it is *Jan* and *Ion*. In Italy it is *Jan-us* (*Ean-us*), whom Scaliger has shown to be the god of the sun.* In Etruria it is *Jonn*.

El, or *Eli*, the sun, is found in Greece, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, and Judæa. It is the name of the chief deity of the Semitic races. It is 'Ηλι-ος the sun; in Homer,

* Niebuhr's *Rome*, Am. ed., p. 62.

Eeli-os and Aeli-os. In the New Testament it is Eli! Eli! In Job and Isaiah it is El. In Genesis it is El, El-jon, El-Sadai, Elohim, and Hael-ohim (compare Asel, Ausel, or Usil, the sun). Among the Turks it is Al, or Allah. It is also Il, Joel, Jael, Jul-ia, and Iul-ius.

Az, As (or Ah), is another name of the sun. It is found in Assyria and other countries generally. It changes to Os and Oh, Ush and Uz. The Greek form is Ias, and Ὑψ. As-as was an Arabian god, and As-is a sun-deity at Edessa. Is-is was the Egyptian sun-goddess. We have Asa, king of Judah, the Asi, a people of As-ia; Aus and Auza, names of Arab tribes, and Uzza, an Arabian divinity, Al-uzza.

Ad, or At, is Atys and Attis, Ad-ad, the sun (Adad), the river Adda, the Bible-name Ada, Aud, or Ad, a deity of Arabia, and Ath-os, the mount of At. Ad is also the name of an Arab tribe, is part of Jeho-iada, a Jewish king, Eli-ada, a Bible-name, and Ioud-aia, or Jud-æa. It is the name of the altar called "Ed" by the children of G-ad (the sun, Achad), Otho-es, king of Egypt, and Otho, the Roman Emperor. Adi, with the termination of the nominative, is Di-os, De-us, and Θε-ος.

Ar, or Ari, meaning fire-sun, is in Greek Ar-es, in Phœnicia and Judæa it is Ar, "the fire" (Iar); it is "Ur," or Aur, "of the Chaldees," the seat of the fire-priests. It is the Latin Ur-o, "to burn," Ar-ia, a country, Ar-eioi, the Medes, who were fire-worshippers. It is the fire-god Ari-el, אר-יֵל (Ariel), a name of Jer-usalem, and אֵל-אֹר, Al-or-us, the Babylonian God of light. It is derived from אֵר, אֹר, אֵר, meaning Fire, and is connected with Ara, a fire-altar, Uri-el, a Bible-name, Ari-och, a king, and Ar-ioch, a captain of the king's guard in Babylon.

Ak is Jacch-os, a name of B-acch-us, or Ev-ecch-ius (another name of Bacchus). We find Ach-eans, the people, and Ach-aia, the land of Ak; also Ach-es, an Egyptian king, Acca, a port in the Levant, B-ak-tr-ia, a country, Bal-ak, a prince in the Bible, Pel-eg, a patriarch in Genesis, Og, king of Bashan, Og-yg-es, the sun-god of the flood-legend, Ag-ag, king of the Amalekites, and Yauk, an Arabian deity,* Och-us and Bel-och-us, kings

* Universal Hist., Vol. XVIII. p. 384.

of Babylon, *Ak-mon*, a fire-god, *Ar-iōch*, a king, and *Eac-us*, an infernal deity.

Am is *am* (in Hebrew *jom*, meaning "day"), in the Dorian language it is *ἀμαρ* ('amar), in the Attic Greek it is *ἡμερα*, "a day"; it is the Phœnician deity *M-ar* or *Om-ar*, it is the Hindu god *Jama*, the Persian *Jima*. It is found in *Ammi* and *Ami*, the names of persons in the Bible, in *Bal-aam*, the priest-king in Genesis ("and *aBel-aam* said unto *aBel-ak*"). *Mir-iam* is *Omar*, and *Am* or *Iom*. The *Em-im*, a people mentioned in the Bible (plural of *Em*), is this same word *Am*. We find also *Ima* and *Jouma*, Syrian names of places, and *Aoym-is* (*Aoum*), the sun, "the first-born." The feminine of *Am* is properly *Maia*, the earth, the daughter of *Atlas*, the sun (*Sol-Talaios*).

It is compounded with *On* or *Ani*, the sun, in the words *Am-an-us* and *Om-an-us*, names of "a deity worshipped in Pontus and Cappadocia, whom Bochart identifies with the sun." *

Am makes a part of *Amos*, *Moses*, *Am-asis*, and *Am-men-em-es*, two kings of Egypt, *Am-on*, the *Amun-Ra* of Egypt, the Jupiter *Ammon* of Lybia; and is found in *Im-manu-el* (*Imm-annu-el* = *Ammon-El*), *Ani-am*, *Abi-jam*, *Ben-iam-in*, and *Jam-in*, Hebrew names, in *Yam-an* (or *Yemen* in Arabia), in *Ar-yam-an*, a Hindu sun-god, *H-am-adan*, the capital of *M-ed-ia* (*Am-adi-a*), and *Iam-en-us*, a name in Homer; also in the Bible-names *Jam-l-ech* (which is *Am-al-ak*, *Moloch*, or *Mel-ech*), *Ador-am* (*Am* the sun-god and *Adar* the fire-god), *H-ir-am*, *Jeh-or-am* (*Asur*, or *Ahura*, and *Am*; compare *Haram-eias* and *Sar-ameyas* or *Hermes*, *Mercury*, *Sarama*, the Hindu goddess, and *Sur-m-ubel*, the serpent deity of the Phœnicians, the beneficent *Ophion-Cadmus*). We have also *M.on-im-us*, the associate deity (*paredros*) of the *Ed-essa* sun-god, the god *M-al-ch-am*, or *Mil-com*, *Baal-chom* (or *Apollo Chom-aeus*), *Ach-aem-en-es*, *Akambusi-ya* (*aC-am-byes*), *Bushi-cham*, and *C-am-us*, the god.

The sun-name *Ad* is found in the reduplicated form *Ad-ad*, or *Tat* (*Tot*, *Taut*). Compounded with *El* (the sun) we have the Bible-names *Eli-dad* and *El-dad*; with

* Kuhn's Zeitschrift for 1853, p. 183.

Ab we have Bil-dad, with Am, Medad. Adad compounded with Ani (the sun) gives T-it-an, a name of the sun, Teut-ones, the Germans, the Dut-ch (from Teut, the sun, and On, the sun), and T-ith-on-us, the spouse of Aurora: also Dod-ona, famous for its oracle, and Ded-an, a patriarch.* Other forms of Adad (or Ad) are Athoth-is, an Egyptian king, the god Thoth (Taut or Tat), Thoth-m-es, the king, Tiota, the Celtic word meaning "sun," Titho-es, an Egyptian word meaning light, Titha, the Sanskrit word for fire, Adittha, a name of a city, and Titus, a man's name. Prefixing the sun-name As, or Ah, we have H-adad, a Syrian name of the sun; As and Ad united give S-aad, an Arabian deity, El-Sadai, of the Bible, Asad, the Arabian Mercury (the sun-god),† Sadi, the Persian poet, and H-eth, the name of a Hebrew; Aseth and S-ait-es, kings of Egypt; Seth, the son of Adam.

Ad compounded with "Am" gives Ed-om, the name of a country and a people. אֶשָׂא אֲבִי אֶדוֹם, Asav (or Esau), father of Edom. Edom is Adam.‡ We have Et-am, a village, Et-am, a rock,§ Joth-am, a Hebrew king, Eth-am, "on the edge of the wilderness," Tham-ud, an Arab tribe, Tham-udeni (Adonis), a people of Arabia, Adama, an Arabian city, Adami, a place mentioned in the Bible. In Egypt At-mu is the sun, and Tamie, the moon. In Greece *Ar-temis* is the moon, the chaste Diana; Teut-am-us (Ad+Adam) was an Assyrian king at the time of the Trojan war.

Apollo (the sun-god, the "far-darter") tends the cows (the figurative expression for sunbeams||) of Ad-m-etus. Thamm-uz is the name of Adon-is, the sun. We have Baal-Tam-ar, a name of Baal, Tam-ar, a daughter of David, Obed-Edom (Adam) the Gittite, Dem-od-oc-us, a poet mentioned in Homer, Dem-ar-us (another Noah perhaps), Dem-eter (Adam+Adar), who is "Eve, mother of all living";¶ Tem-eni (Adam and Ani, the sun) and Tem-an are Bible-names. Tem-en-bar is an Assyrian deity, and Bar-tim-eus (Tamie the moon, Ar-itim-is = Diana), who sat at the gates of Jer-icho, is named from the sun-gods Abar and Adam. We have also the

* Genesis, chap. x. † Universal History, Vol. XVIII. pp. 379, 387.

‡ Universal History, Vol. II. p. 453.

§ And the waters of heaven.

¶ Judges xv. 11.

¶ Genesis iii. 20.

names *Dam-on* and *Tim-on*, *Dam-ar-is*, a woman,* and *Timo-theus*.

Whatever was the origin of these eight monosyllabic names of the sun, they are found from Italy to Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Baktria.

It is necessary, before going further, to premise that the ancients interchanged the vowels to a great extent. In modern books, each vowel is preserved in all its purity; it is fixed for ever by the printed character. But at a period when manuscripts were not yet common, there was a laxity in the use of vowels and consonants, sufficient partly to obscure, in many cases, the external signs of the origin of words. The vowels were not always inserted. A consonant was thought, from the nature of the case, to contain a vowel appended to it. T was Ta, B was Ba, K, Ka, as in Sanskrit. The first alphabets were syllables, not letters.

In Hebrew the vowel-points were not used until long after Christ; and the old language was written with the aid of a few vowels, which were not generally expressed. *Jehova-Elohim* was written *ihoa elhim*; *Jonathan*, *oiaonthn*; *Jerusalem*, *iroslm*; *David*, *dvd*; *Ahitophel*, *oahitpl*. As, therefore, vowels were often left in charge of the memory, it is not strange that, as in the vulgarisms and provincialisms of modern times, they should have run into one another. The broad *a* is *o* and *au*; the short *a* is also a short *i*, and frequently is dropped; as, *Pidaura*, anciently *Epidaur-us*, *Sarak* for *Asarac*, *Mardi* for *Amardi*, a people of Asia, *Media* for *Amadia*. Very often *a* is misread *e* in the Bible; for *Aleph*, the first character of the Hebrew alphabet, is both *a* and *e*. The consonants were continually transmuted into their middle and aspirated forms. P is B and Ph. T becomes D and Th, as in *Methone* and *Modon*, two names of the same city. K passes over into G and Ch. I is continually prefixed to words beginning with a vowel, and is often added at the end. S softens to Sh and H.

But, to resume the consideration of the eight names of sun-gods, which, compounded together, make up most of the proper names of antiquity. They are *Ab*, *Ak*, *Am*, *Ar*, *El*, *As*, *At*, *On*.

* Acts xvii. 34.

Ani (the sun) is On, Jan, in Greece, the Etruscan Jonn, Jan-us, an ancient king of Italy, the river Anio, Jaanai, a Bible-name, Jan-us, with two faces, the Roman war-god, his name Ean-us, and Eani, a people. From Ani comes, *with the light of the sun*, Ani-mation (*Ani-matio*), Ani-ma, "the soul, the life," and Ani-mare, the verb "to ani-mate." It is the last syllable of Dag-ōn, the sun-god with the extremity of a fish, and Odacon, "the man-fish" of the Babylonian legend. We may compare with the syllables of Dag-ōn the German Tag,* meaning "day," the Etruscan Tag-es, and the Babylonian Oann-es (Ani, the sun-god), who rose from the sea to instruct the people in the arts of life.

Ani is thus mentioned by Rawlinson:—

"In the northwest palace of Nimroud there is an inscription of Sar-dan-apal-us repeated more than a hundred times: 'This is the palace of Sardanapalus, the humble worshipper of Assarac and Beltis, of the shining Bar, of Ani, and of Dagon, who are the principal of the gods.' An obelisk inscription also runs as follows: 'Asarac, the great lord, king of all the great gods; Ani, the king; Nit, the powerful, and Artenk, the supreme god of the provinces, Beltis, the protector, mother of the gods.' . . . Shemir who presides over the heavens and the earth. . . . Bar. . . . Artenk, Lama, Horus. . . . Tal and Set, the attendants of Beltis, mother of the gods." †

Three places named Ani are laid down on the maps; one north of Lake Wan, the other west of it, a little to the northwest of Pallu. ‡ Another at the source of the river Ri-oni, near the Caucasus. It is also the name of the city On, or Heliopolis, the city of the sun, now Baal-bec, and the name of the Egyptian On, whose priest was Pot-iphar, or Potipheres, compounded of the gods Phut and Phre, the sun (Phut and Bar, or Abar, Pars or Perseus, the sun, the Egyptian Phre). We find also a city Auna on the Euphrates, Unna, a river of European Turkey, and Onn-os, a king of Egypt.

Ani has in Sanskrit the form Ina (the sun), in Greece, Egypt, and Palestine it is On, ion, aon, anō, iun, oni, one, Ono, No, and Unni. Elon, the highest god in Phœnicia, is a compound of El, the sun, and On (Ani).

* Deuk-alion, Ithaca, the isle, Attica, the land, and Tagus, the river, of the sun.

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. pp. 427, 432.

‡ Spruner's Ancient Atlas.

In San-chon-iathon's account of Phœnician deities, it has the form Elioun or Elion. In the Old Testament we find El Eljon, the god of whom Melchizedek was priest, the "most high" God by whom Abraham swears.* Another form in Hebrew is Ailon, אֵילֹן, the name of a person, and Elon, the head of the Elon-ites.

In the inscription on the coffin of Esmun-azar, which was recently discovered at Sidon, the occupant of the sarcophagus says he has "built a temple to *Elon* of the Sidonians in Sidon, in the land on the sea, a temple to Baal and Astarte."† The name Elon is, in Greece, the name of a person.

Ani is Aïōn (Αἰών), the sun, "the first-born," in the Phœnician and Chaldean learning; Homer's αἰών, a word meaning "life," and the Eon of the Gnostic religions.

Compounds of Ani, or Ina, and Adar are In.dr.a, god of the sky in India, the An.dr.a of the Persians, En-dor, the abode of the witch, and (with Ap, the sun, prefixed) Pan-dar-us and P-in.dar, the poet.

Adar is Adar-melech, the fire-god, Oder, a river in Prussia, Odra, a river in European Turkey, Dor, in the name of the Dor-ians, named after their god, as the Israelites from Asar-el (Israel), Dar-ius, the sun-name of the Persian king. We also find H-athor, the Egyptian goddess, and Athyr, a month; Adr-iel, Jetur (Adar), and Jattir, a place, Bible-names. Adriel is Adar-El, the fiery El, or Ari-el, of Judæa (the land of Ad, or "Adi-el," a Bible-name). Compare Del-os, the island, and Sol-Talaïos, a deity worshipped in Crete. Adel, or Tal, is the Assyrian name of the sun-god, the Delian Apollo. Jetur or Jethr-o, is Atar or Adar. We have Dar, the name of an Arab tribe, Tur, Tyre, and Turan, a country of Asia. It is the "Athur" in Athuria, a name of Assyria. Adar was merely another name of Asur, Assur, Asar, and Asarac, the chief god. The Chaldees Targums give Athor for the Hebrew Asur.‡ The Turks call Tyre (from Atur) Sour (another name of the same god). Mithra, the Persian and Hindu deity, is Am-adar. We have M-adra, a Hindu people, M.ad.aura, an African city, M-etaur-us, a river in Italy, Mithridat-es (Mithra

* Genesis xiv. 18, 22.

† Dietrich's Translation.

‡ Rawlinson, Royal Asiatic Soc. Journal, Vol. XI. Part I. p. 10.

and Adad, the sun), the Hindu king Datt-amithra (Adad + Mithra), D-em-etri-us (Ad the sun, and Mithra, or Adam, and Adar), the Greek name of the same king, and the Bible-name Ador-am.

Countries were named after the gods there worshipped, cities likewise. "Assyria was thus certainly named after Assarac, Asarak, or Asarah."* He is considered N-isroch (Ani, the sun, and As-ar-ac), the Assyrian god in whose temple Sennacherib was slain. We may compare Ser-ug in the Bible, Es-r-ak, a place in Arabia, and Sar-gon, the king name, which is N-isroch, with the "N" or "An" at the end of the word; also Sor-acte, a mountain (Asar and Achad, the sun), Achat-es, the friend of Æneas, Ach-th-oes, king of Egypt, (Ach-tho,) and Ac-d-est-is (Achad and Asad, Sadai or Set, the sun).

As with Ar gives Asar, the god, Ez-er, the name of a person,† Ezra, the scribe, Azar, the fire-god (As, Asur, or Assar and Asar-ac, the deity after whom Assyria is named, and whose name "As" is the name of the whole continent of As-ia. See the Bible-name Asi-el). We have Zohar, the fire-god, and Zar-etis, his goddess, M-el-zar, B-el-shazzar, and Bel-t-esh-azzar. Asur is called Asura, with the epithet "Mazda," the wise (*s* becomes the softened *sh*, and is *h*). Asura is Ahura-Mazda (called Aura-masta, from Aur, "the fire"). In India the sun's name is Sur-ya, and the term Asura is found applied to evil deities. It is probable that they were the old sun-deities, like the twelve Titans (from Ad-ad, the sun, and On, the sun). So the Turks call Tyre (from Adar, the sun or fire-god), Sour (the sun, Asur). The Latin name was Sarra (Asar). Bible-names containing the deity-name Azar, are Azar-iah, Isr-ael, a Phœnician name of Saturn, Asr-iel,‡ Ele-azar, Azr-iel, El-izur, son of Sh-edaur ("As," the sun, and Adar, the fire-god), and Osor-thon, the Egyptian king (Asar-adan).

We have Isar, a tributary of the Danube in Bavaria, Oseir-is (who is Asar), Seir, a name of a mountain, Ashur, in the Bible, Sair, an Arabian god worshipped by the tribe Auza,§ the Hebrew tribe Asher, Auzara, the

* Rawlinson, Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. p. 424.

† Nehemiah, chap. iii.

‡ Joshua xvii.

§ Universal History, Vol. XVIII. p. 387.

name of a city on the Euphrates, and Ahira, a Bible-name of a person ([A]sir^{is}, Osiris, Asura or Ahura).

Baal had his altars in Isr-ael with Ashera, his goddess (Azara or Asara). We are inclined to derive Sardinia also from Asar and Tinia (Jupiter-Tinia), Tina or Adan.

Ab, compounded with Ak (the fire-god), gives B-acch-us, the god, Pekah, a Jewish king, Aphek, a Bible-name, R-aphak-es, an Egyptian, Re-bek-ah (Re, the sun, and Bekah, Bacchus), Ev-ech-ius, the name of Bacchus (*v* is *b*). We have Atar-*bech*-is (Venus) and Baal-*bec* (Heliopolis). Bacchus is also called Evi-us (Abi). In the Bible we have Evi, the name of a person, and *L-evi* (Levi), the same as Eli-ab, a compound of El and Ab, or Ev. Bacch-us is the old Persian sun-god Baga. Among the Slavonians he is "Bog, the rising sun." The river Bug has his name. On the banks of the Indus he is Bhaga the Adit-ya. Other forms of the name are Bukki and Pagi-el, names of persons in the Bible, Bago-as, Boch-us, Bocch-or-is, and Evag-or-as, Egyptian kings.

V-ivagh.ao, a name of the sun in ancient Persia, is probably Ab-aB-ag, the doubled form, like P-aP-a^{ios}, the Scythian form of Ap, the sun, and Adad, the reduplication of Ad, the sun. Ab-ib is the name of a Jewish month. Several Jewish months are named after deities. Ep-aph-us is the Egyptian name of the same month. We find also the kings Ep-iph-an.es, Aphob-is, and the Egyptian king's name Ap-op-is, the Bible-names Bavai, Bebai, H-ob-ab, the son of R-ag-uel,* and Ab-ib-al, a Phœnician king.

Ab, compounded with El, gives the god Bil or Bel, Abel, Ab-il-ah, a city, Evil (as in Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon). B softens continually into V. Pars (Persia) becomes Fars, the Abarti, Afarti, Sebastopol is Sevastopol, Elisabethpol is Elisawethpol, south of the Caucasus mountains. Seb and Sev are Egyptian names of Saturn. Phil-ist-ia, the country of the Philistines, is Abel-Seth, or Set. With these names we may compare Sab-us, a Phœnician god, Usov, the Phœnician Mars, Suph-is, king of Egypt, Asaph, in the Bible, Asav (Sat-

* Numbers x.

urn), Esau, and the name of the poetess Sappho. They are probably all compounded of two names of the sun-god, As and Ap. We find the Bible-names Eli-asaph, Ioseph, Ios-ib-iah, Ios-iph-iah, Zeph-an-iah, and Zeb-ulon (Seb-Elon, the Saturn-Elion, or "El Eljon" of Abraham and Melchizedek; as the name of a person in the Bible it is Eli-enai and Elih-o-enai), Zif, a Hebrew month-name, Seba, the Arabian god of heaven, Zab-ii (the Sab-aeans), Zob-al (or As-Abel), a name of Saturn. H-ob-al, the chief of three hundred and sixty Arabian idols.* Compare the Sabellians, a people, and Savelios (the sun, Gothic Sauil, Sol in Latin, Ausil, Usil, the Auselii, a family). Jehova is called Seb-a-oth, "God of hosts," or God of heaven; "Him whom heavenly hosts obey." Savitar, the creator-sun of the Hindus, is Sab, or Sev (Saturn), and -itar, Atar, the fire and sun-god. The Bible gives the queen of Sheb-a (or S'eb-a), which is Seb-Saturn, Ish-bak, a man's name, and we have S-ab-acho, Seb-ich-os, or Sev-ech-us, king of Egypt.

If the fire-god Ak is compounded with Ani, the sun, we have the name of Saturn, Chon (Kewan), Baal-chon, Chiun, worshipped in Egypt by the Israelites, Sar-gon (an Assyrian king = Asar-Chon), Con-iah and Jecon-iah, Bible-names, Chaon, who is Chon, the deity Ken in Assyria, Can-op-us and Kn-eph, Egyptian names of gods, Kanoon, the Syrian month-name, and Can-aan, a Phœnician deity, (the *land* of Canaan,) mentioned in San-chon-iath-on. We have also S-an-c-us, the Sabine word for "heaven," In-ach-us, the sun, the Phrygian Ann-ak-os; An-ouke, the Egyptian goddess of the earth, the Bible-names En-och, An-ak,† the Ann-akim, N.e.k-oda, a Bible-name, N-ach.or, a place (compare Achor, the name of a valley, and Kur, the sun), N.echo (Pharao), and Neck.eb.‡

The Median Hindus ascribed their book of "the law" to Manu (or Menu). The laws of Manu were the gift of the "all-knowing sun," the chief god Man-es, Oman-us, or Mon-imus (in Germany, Mannus, in Crete, Minos, in Egypt, Menes, in Arabia, the god Manah, *h* being *s*). Amanus and Omanus are identified with the sun by Bochart. We have Manu, the Hindu Noah of

* Universal History, Vol. XVIII. p. 386.

† Joshua xiv.

‡ Joshua xix. 33.

the flood (Nuh of the waters, the Egyptian god of the annual overflow), Amun, the Egyptian name of the sun-god, and Aman-us, part of the Taur-us range of mountains; Haman-im, the sun-images in Babylon. Baal is Saman and Haman. He is represented with four faces looking to the four quarters of the heavens. Haman is a man's name, in the book of Esther; Haman "the son of Hamm-edatha" (Adad, the sun, and Ham or Sam, the sun). Other forms of Am, the sun, are the pool of Silo-*am* (Sol and Am), *Am-asis*, an Egyptian king (Am, and Asis, the sun), *Am-aziah*, king of Judah, *Am-aza*, a name of Diana, *N-aomi*, *Jer-om-baal*, and *Abi-jam*.

The old Italian sun-god Ap, Op (or Ab), is the bull Ap-is of the Egyptians, the steer Ab-*udad* (*Adad*, the sun) of the Persians, the Egyptian name of Amen-oph, or Amun-oph, the Arabian "Al-Auf," the god Auf, Ab-ed or Eb-ed of the Bible (Ebed-ezer), Evi, the name of a Hebrew, the cities Ava and Nin-eva (An-an-ias, H-an-ani, Onan), the name Eve of the Bible, *Abi-el*, *Ab-diel*, *Abi-ezer*, *Abi-dan*, *Abi-jah*, *Abi-me-lech*, *Abi-athar* (Adar, the sun), *Ab-dera*, a Thracian city, *Ep-idaur-us*, now called *Pi-daur-ra* (*Jup-iter* or *Jop-adar* (Ater, the sun), the Assyrian Adar-melech, the fire-god). It seems more reasonable to connect the name Jupiter with Op, the sun, the old Italian god (iue = Jovi), with Jap-et and Jap-et-os, which Buttmann considers names of the Supreme Being, than to adopt the derivation from the Sanskrit Djaush, "Heaven," or Diu or Div, "to shine" (Divus), and Pitar, "father." Dius-piter and Dies-piter are less natural than Op, the sun, Our father, (iOp-piter), the name of the river Po, or P-ad-us (Jap-et-us). Compare As-*op*-us, or As-*opo*, a river in Thes-saly, and Ap-us, a river in Illyricum.

Ab, compounded with the sun-name Ad, forms Ab-ed-nego, Ob-ed-iah, Obed-Edom, and P-ed-ah-zur, Bible-names.

Japet (or Jupit-er) is the Greek Puth-ios (the Pythian Apollo), Pytho, the sun-dragon, the Egyptian Phut or Phth-ah, the fire-god Ptah (compare the Titan Japet-os, and Jephth-ah, judge of Israel), Phut, the Hebrew patriarch,* and Iphitus.† The "iter" in the name of Jup-iter

* Genesis x.

† Odyss. xxi. 26.

is perhaps connected with the Italian names *Adria* (the modern *Atri*), *Etr-uria*, and *Adr-iatic*. We have the Babylonian goddess *Ater-gatis*, called also *Tar-kat* and *Der-keto*; and "the children of *Ater*," in *Nehem-iah*.

Japh-et, *Jup-iter* or *Op*, the sun-god, reappear in the name of the river *Auf-id-ius*, in *V.ed-ius*, a name of *Jupiter* (*Ab.ed*, *Ab* or *Auf*, the Arabian god), and in *Ve-adar*, the name of the Jewish intercalary month. (*Ved-ius* would be perhaps *Ve-ad-ius*. The *Ar*, in *Ve-ad-ar*, is the fire-god *Ar* or *Ar-es*, the Assyrian fire-god *Adar-melech* or *Adrammelech*.) We have also *-P-eth-or* (*op-eth-or*), a place mentioned in the Bible, *-P-et-er* (*ap-et-er*), the Apostle, *-S-av-itar* (*As+Jov-itar*, *Sev-Adar*), the Creator-sun of the Hindus, and *-Ph-aed.r-us*, the fabulist.

If we decline *Op* (as *Jup-iter* is declined), we have, Nominative *Op*, *Joppa*, *Job* (the Hebrew), *Jove*, or the Arabian god *Auf*; Genitive, *Iovis*; Dative, *Iovi*.

Jov-is is then the genitive case, not of *Jupiter*, but of *Jop* or *Auf*, the sun (*Ab*, *Ap*, or *Op*). Compare *Baiae* and *Veii*, two names of places in Italy, and *Iiv*, the Oscan deity.

El ("the sun," "God"), compounded with *Ap* (*Ab*), the sun, gives *Apel* (*Apollo*) "the fighter," *Ab-el*, *Bel*, the sun-god of Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, and Palestine; all the *Baal-im* or *Elim*, the sun-gods; and *Apulia*, the land of *Epul*, *Apollo*. Other forms of the name are *Phul*, an Assyrian king, *Pallu*, a Bible-name, *Apelles*, *Phell-es*, *Evil*, a Babylonian name, *Awal*, an Arab divinity, *El-paal*, *Vul-can* or *Balcan* or *Bal-cain* or "Th-ubal-cain, the instructor of every artificer in brass and iron."*

Apel appears in *Pleione*, mother of the nymph *Maia* (*Mai*, the month *May*). *Pleione* is the spouse of *Atlas*, who is *Sol-Tal-aïos* (compare *Tal*, the Assyrian god, and *Thales*, a philosopher), *Ital-ia* (Italy), *Del-os*, the isle, *Atell-a*, an Oscan city, *Attal-us*, king of *Pergamus*, *Atl-as*, the deity, *Tola* and *Tal-mon*, names of Hebrews. *Cain* and *Ab-el* are *Bel*, the sun, and *Chon* (the *Baal-Chon*, or *Agni*, or *Chiun*, or *Chaôn*). We find *Z-abul*, the name of a prince. It is *As-Abel*. The word *Z-ebulon* is *Sab*, *Saturn*, and *Elon*, *Elion*, the most high God. *Bel-zeb-ul* and *Belzebub* are compounded of *Ab*, *El*, and *As*, names of the sun.

8 * Genesis iv. 22.

Ab and El are seen in the name of Pol-lux (Lux meaning light, Lukē, λυκη (El+Ak), and Pol meaning Apollo). The name Nab-opol-asar contains the name Apollo. Bel-itan, Bal-adan, and Plutōn are names of Bel or Apel (Apollo). His name is Bōl and Bul; also βαλαθην.

Pollio or Paul is apparently another form of these words. We have Bil, a name of Bel, Abil, an Arab tribe, and Bil-dad, a Bible-name, which is Bil, the sun, and Adad, the sun. Apollo and the Bible patriarch Jubal were both skilled in playing the lyre: the patriarch Jabal was as rich in cattle as sun-gods usually are. (Indra, the Hindu god, is "rich in cattle.") Pal-es is the god and goddess of cattle. Apollo, while tending the cattle of Admetus, on the banks of the river Amphrysus, has them stolen from him by Mercury, the Arcadian sun-god. Palmyra (called also Tadmor) is Apel-Omar (the Phœnician deity Mar). Tadmor is Adad, the sun, and Omar. Since Adad and Apel are both sun-names, it is natural that they should be given to the same place. Mercur or Mercury is Omar, the sun, Amar, the day, and Kur, the sun. Phil-emon is Abel-Amon.

El is the sun, As is the sun, Ani is the sun. United, they give L-os-na, a name of the moon in Italy. Putting "As" first, they give S-el-ene, another name of the moon (in Greece); and S-il-enus, the sun-Bacchus (from Ausil or Asel, the sun, and Ani).

El compounded with On, the sun, gives Luna, the moon, and El-on, the chief deity (sun-god) of the Phœnicians, and of Jerusalem, the ancient Salem. We have Jehova-Shalom, Solom-on, Shelumi-el, Shelom-ith, Baal-Shal-isha (Baal-Sol-Ishi, or Jah), the Bible-names Ish-iaho, Ab-ishai, and Esh-baal; and in Hosea ii. 16, "Thou shalt call me Ishi, and no more Beali" (As, or Ashi, softened, lah or lahi, the Greek Yas, is the sun, *as the Orb of Life*). Compare Exodus iii. 14.

As, compounded with Am, the sun, gives Semo, the Italian god of heaven, Sam or Sem, the sun-names of the Hebrew patriarch and the Persian hero. Shem is a name of the sun. Shemes and Shemir are well-known names of the sun, according to Rawlinson. We find also Shem.aiah, Shimei, Sam-ael, Ishm-ael, and Sam-uel, in the Bible, and G-eshem.

A further compound with An or Ani, the sun, is found in the name Baal-saman, or Baal-haman. This Saman, Haman, or Amon, the sun, is the Phœnician Esmun, (Apollo), Smun; Smin-theus, the name of Apollo's priest, is very near Eshmun-iad (a Phœnician name), the Egyptian Os-im-an-th-yas or Os-im-an-d-yas. Summan-us is the Italian god of the nightly lightnings. The Bible-names Sim-eon and Simon appear to be the same word.

The Irish Cuat-an, "the sun," is perhaps Achad, the sun, and On, the sun. In Sanskrit, Kut is the verb "to burn"; we have also C-t-esi-as (Achad+Asi), the writer, and Acteon, who was changed to a stag (Achad, the sun, and eon, ian, Ani, the sun).

Further compounds may be found in the words Zur-iel, Beth-Zur, אֱלִי־זֶרַח Eli-el, אֱלִי־יָהּ Eli-jah, אֶחֱיָהּ Ahiah, As-ah-iah, אֶחָיָה Ajah, יָהּ Jah, Jehu (Jahoa) יְהוּא Jael יְעֹל, * An-aiyah, † Jah-ziel, ‡ Jah-azi-el, § Elihu, Joel יְאוּל, Mor-iah, a mountain, Azar-iah, Seraiah, Zerubbabel, Jaaz-an-iah, Ar-ab-el, king of Babyl-on, Ari-el, Ar-eli, || Al-or-us אֶל־אוּר, Ar-ieh, ¶ Ariad.ne (Adoni, אֲדֹנִי), As-ahel, Ash-bel, Esh-baal, S-ab-ellians, S-av-elios, the sun, Abelios, the sun, β-αβελιος, the sun, Saul and Ausil, the sun; Saul, Sol-El, Soleil, the sun, and J-ah-leel, a Bible-name.

The Selli were the priests of Jove at Dodona, called also the ἑλλοί (Helli). In Greece, El-is was "the Holy Land." Greece (Hellas) is called Elisha in the Bible. The connection of the Phœnicians with Ionia was most intimate; yet the Hebrew name of Greece, יָוֹן (I-o-n) is translated Javan. This is not remarkable in so distant a nation as the Hindus, but in countries near together, as Palestine, Phœnicia, and the Ionian coast, it would be strange if the Greek name should not be used, more especially as we find Elion and Elon, names of the chief god in Phœnicia, Elion and El, or Eli in Judæa, Il-ion, Troy (Il is El), Ach-illes (Ach-il), and other names that have apparently the same composition which we have been describing. Thamyris in Homer resembles Baal-Tamar, and Tamar, the name of

* Judges iv. 18, 21.
§ 2 Chron. xx. 14.

† Nehem-iah x. 22.
|| Genesis xlv.

‡ 1 Chron. vii. 13.
¶ 2 Kings xv. 25.

a princess in the Bible. Neptune is Ani, Ap, Adon; Sar-pedon is Asar-Ap-Adan. In the Bible we find Padan, the name of a place; Dardan-us is Adar-Adon. Ias and Jan (On) are names of the sun. Combined, they make Jas-on, the leader of the Argonauts, and Jas-on, a Christian mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

We find a Hebrew Jam-l-ech, also Melech, a name of Moloch or Milichus, the fire-sun; Am-al-ak, the Amalekites, compounds of Am (or Jom, meaning day), El (Bel), and Ak (the Arabian god Yauk); Mal-ch-iel, the name of a person, M-al-achi, the prophet, Malach-bel, or Baal-Moloch. We have Abi-Melech or Abimelech in the Bible. Melech, the wife of Mars-Moloch, Alamm-el-ech, An.amm.el-ech, and Adramme-lech, or Adar-Melech, names of Assyrian fire-gods. Also C-y.b-ele, a goddess (Ach+bel).

Malchi-Zedek was priest of the most high God, the Elon or Elion of the Phœnicians, and dwelt in Salem, the ancient Jerusalem. In Assyria, the priest bore the name of the god to whose service he was attached. Perseus was the name of the priest of Mithra and the Persian god. So the Hebrew priest Eli bears the name of his god, Eli or El. David's seer or prophet was called Gad, from Achad, the sun.* Uri-jah, the priest, has the name of the fire-god and the sun-god united. Eli-jah, "the man of God," is named from Eli and Jah, two names of the Hebrew God; Oded, the priest's name, is Adad, the sun. Ezra, the priest, has the name of Azar, Asar, or Ahur-a, the sun.

Besides the "Shining Bar" of the Assyrian bas-reliefs, the sun-god Abar is the Roman jubar, a sunbeam, and the sun-name or epithet of the Egyptian monarchs as sons of the sun, Phar-aohs. We have also Bar, the name of an Arab tribe, the Abars, Abarti, or Afarti, a people in the northern part of the Persian Empire, and it is "Per-seus, the sun," and Persia (or Abar-As-ia), the land of the sun. We find the name of a Jewish writer, Abar-ban-el, contains the three deity names El, Aban, and Abar. Asnabar, the name of a district, city, or place in Assyria, and As-n-apper, a man's name, are As-An-(or Sun)-Abar. It is a compound of the same

* Compare the "children of Gad," Numb. x.; the Bible-names Accad and Baal-gad, the Get-ae (Goths), the German Gott, and the Persian Khoda.

order as Sandan (San-Adan, Adonis, *zīn*), the Assyrian sun, as *Hercules*, whose name is but a Greek-Phœnician softening of Sarak or Asarac, the great deity of the Assyrians. H is S; therefore a compound of Sarak and El, the Phœnician and Semitic sun-god, would be Hercol, the Etrurian name of Hercules, who is also called Archal in Phœnicia. Abar is the priest Abar-is, the Trojan Par-is, Apr-ilis, Avr-il, months, Apri-es and Uaphr-is, kings of Egypt, and Eber, the patriarch of the Ebraioi, or Hebrews. Abar, the shining sun, is compounded with Ak, the fire-god, in *Kh-eper*, the Egyptian name of the Creator-sun. We find a river *Ch-ebur* mentioned in Ezekiel,* and the name *Ch-epar* = haamonai, in the eighteenth chapter of Joshua. With these we may compare Sultan *K-ebir*, meaning "Fire-Sultan," *Gh-eber*, a fire-worshipper, the seven *C-abiri*, the spirits of fire and light of Phœnicia, the seven "great gods" of the Eastern World, *G-abr-iel*, one of the seven archangels, and *Ch-eb-r-es*, king of Egypt. Jacob is a compound of Ak, the fire-sun, and Ap or Ab, "the sun." The same names differently compounded give B-acch-us. Further compounds are Captor (a name of the island Crete), which is Ak, Ap, Ad, Ar, and Coptos or Aigupt-os, "Egypt," which is Ak, Ap, and Ad; or Kah-Ptah, "the land of Ptah." (?) Other compounds of Abar are Britomartis, a name of Diana, Per-seph-one and Pr-oser-pine.

Britomart-is is Abar-Adam-*Arad* (*Artem-is*, Diana). Persephone is Abar, Asaph, and Ani. Proserpina is Abar, Asar, the Assyrian chief-god, and Aban, the sun. Abar is found in Iber-ia, the land of Abar, the sun, Ber-iah, Bar-ak, and Bar-uch, Ber-ech-iah, which is Abar-Ach-Iah (the sun Iao with four faces). "The Shining Bar," and "Ani the King," of the Assyrian inscriptions, seem to have united in forming *Var-una*, the Hindu Saturn, the god of Heaven and Light. We find *Ver-ona* in Italy, *Var-na*, on the Black Sea, the *Var-ani*, a people of Bactria, and the river *Var*,† named from the god Bar, just as the river Don (or Tanais) is named from the sun Adan, his goddess Tanais = Athena (Minerva), and Adana, the name of a province in Asia Minor.

We have in the Bible *Bar-zillai*, a person (Abar and

* Chap. x.

† Verres and Varro.

Azel, אֶזֶל, or Asel or Sol, As-iel and Sol-omon (Amon, a Jewish king). We have also Par-an, a place, Beor, a man's name, Baal-peor, Phre, the sun-god in Egypt, Phar-par, a river, and El-Par-an. Pr-i-ene, a European town, is Abar and Ani; Prusa, the modern Bur-sa, is Abar (Bar) and As (the sun). We find Paarai, Beeri, Beri, Bible-names; Bera, king of Sodom, the Trojan Priam, and a city of Cal-*abr*-ia, in Italy, named Bari; also *Br*-undusium, *S-ybar*-is, cities, Epure, an Italian name of Apollo, Pur, the Greek word for fire, Epir-us, a country, Ephher, a Hebrew name, the Persian fire-altar Pyr-ethon, the word pyre, which, softened, is "fire," the German feuer, and the French foyer.

Compounds of As, Ar, and On (names of the sun) are *Jesh-ur-un*, the land of Moses, *S-or-an-us*, the deity-name, the *S-ur-ani*, a people north of the Caucasus, the Saron-ic Gulf, Sharon (or *Sar-ona*), *H-ar-an* and *Beth-horon*, names of places in the Bible. Ar and On give *Ur-an-os*, or *Our-an-os* ("Heaven," or Saturn, which is *Seth-uran-us*, the *El-Shaddai*, *Sadi*, *Set*, or *Seth* of Genesis, *Seth-os*, a king of Egypt); *Sal-ernum* (now *Salerno*) is *Sol-uranus*. We have *Ir-ene*, the Empress (Ar and Ani), also *Aur-ana*, a place in Arabia.

Ag, the fire-god Ak, compounded with *Ur-an-os*, gives "Ekron, whose god was Baal-zebub," *K-ran-os*, "the beaming sun," a name of Saturn (*Ak-Ar-On*), *Car-ni*, a people of Italy, and *Oc-r-an*, a district in Palestine. Ak, compounded with the fire-god Ar, gives *Er-ech*, a part of Nimrod's kingdom, and the Bible-name *Jer-icho*. We have also *K-ur*, a name of the sun (*Ak+Ar*), *Kur*, a river, *Cyr-us* (*Kur-us*), the Persian king, *Kyp-ios* meaning "lord" in Greek, *Cher-es*, king of Egypt, *Kore*, the name of a Hebrew, the Roman *Cur-io*, *Kur-eta* (the island Crete), *Achor*, the name of a valley in the Bible, the island *Cor-cyra* (*Kur-Kur*), *Acar-n-ania* and *Chor-assan*, countries; the Bible-name of a place, *Gur-baal* (two sun-names), and the proper names *Khor-ene*, *Cyr-ene*, and *Cyr-il* (El and Kur).

Other compounds of the fire-god Ag are *Ch-esil* (Orion), *Ac-usil-aus*, *Agni*, the Hindu god of fire (*Ak* and *Ani*, the sun, the Latin *Ignis*, "fire"), *D-agōn*, the sun-god represented with the tail of a fish, in Phœnicia, *Od-acon*, the Babylonian "man-fish," *Coni*, a fortress

in Piedmont, Chon, Chaon, or Chiun (Chijun), a name of Saturn in Africa, Palestine, and Arabia, the deity Baal-chon, the Bible-name Guni, Jam-ad-agni, a Hindu deity-name (Jama or Jom, meaning "the day," the sun). We have the patriarch Pel-eg, of the Bible (Apel and Ag), Bal-ak (Baal or Abel-ak), the Pel-*igni*-ans, a people of Italy, the Pel-agoni-ans, Tel-*egon*-us, Ægina, and The-ognis. Here we distinctly have the Latin Ignis, fire, and Agni, the Indian god of fire.

Aban is the sun, and a Persian name of a month. L-aban (El-Aban) is a patriarch in Genesis. Even-us, a Grecian king, is the name Aban. Pan, the Rôman sun-god, Phan-es, the Phœnician deity, Venus (the sun-goddess), and the name of Lake Van, follow as a matter of course. Aban is seen in Al-apani and Sal-apani, people of West Arabia, in Jabin (iAban), a king of Can-aan, in the Hebrew Ben-jam.in, Eben-ezer, Re-uben (Aban). Ra, Re, and Phre are Egypt's names of the sun. We have the Jew Abar-ban-el, the Hebrew name Ish-pan, a compound similar to Esh-baal and El-paal (Pallu, Apollo), Abana, a river, *Pen*-eus, a river of Th-es-saly, *Pni*-el and *Pen*-uel, Bible-names.

We have Beth-aven, a Bible-name, H-av.an or H-av-ani, a god of the Persians, the Hindu Ven, meaning the sun, and Vena, the moon; Van-iah, a Hebrew name, the Sanskrit Van-as-pati, Pati meaning ruler (rulers anciently were sons of the sun), Bani and Beon, Bible-names, Byon, king of Egypt, and Neb-ushas-*ban*, an Assyrian name. Neb is Nebo (Mercury), "ban" is Aban (or Pan, the sun).

Ushas is the name of Aurora, the blushing dawn. The words As (Ush) and Ar (Ur), both meaning sun or fire, are very much interchanged, just as Adar and Asar, two names of the same deity, are put one for the other. Tyre in Phœnicia is called Sur by the Turks. Assyr-ia is Athur-ia. "Ur" changes to "As" in the Latin verb to burn, Uro, which in the perfect is Ussi, supine Us-tum. The Aur-el-ian family were anciently the Auselii (from Ausil, the sun). So Ush-asa is in Persia and Hindustan the dawn; in Italy it is Aur-ora, in Lithuania it is Auss-ra (compare Auz-ara, an ancient city on the Euphrates), in Greece it is Eōs, Doric Aōs, and Eolic Auōs. Compounded with Ina (the sun) we have

the Persian Ush-as-ina, the goddess of the morning. Aur-ora is Ar-Ar. Ush-as is Ush-Ush, or *As, As*. With these compare the Arab god Asas, "*As-is*," a solar Mercury, *ἠαπεδρος* of the sun-god at Edessa, Zeus (Jupiter), Zia, Ziz, and Aziza, Bible-names, Aziz, the Dev(il) of the Zend-avesta, Jahaz, a Hebrew, Ah-az, a king. Is-is, the Egyptian wife of the sun (Osir-is), S-is-era, of the Bible, S-is-er-es, king of Egypt, Isa-iah (*h* being a soft *s*), Ozias, Uzziah, Jos-iah, Shish-ak, an Egyptian king, and S-is-ythr-us (Xisuthrus, the Babylonian Noah), whose name is probably a compound of Asis and Adar, the sun and fire gods. We have also S-usa, a city of S-usi-āna, in Persia, S-os-is, a Syracusan, S-os-us, Asi-us, a poet, and the Lacedæmonian name of Ze-us, Si-os.

It was a principle of ancient mythology, that the female forms an essential part of the conception of the deities. They are found in pairs. The Greeks, Romans, and other nations did not hesitate to pair those of different names together. Venus is the wife of Vulcan, but she bears the name of Pan. Juno is the spouse of Jupiter, yet she has the name of the Etruscan deity, Jonn. If they were paired according to their names, we should have

Amon, the sun,	Manes,	{	Mana, the Oscan goddess of birth.
Minos,		{	Meni, the Babylonian Venus.
Ar-es,	"	Er-os,	Rhea, the Earth goddess.
Atmu, <i>Τωμ</i>	"	Re-Athom,	
Adam,			Tamie,* the moon.
Achad,	"		Hecate, the moon.
Moloch,	"		Melecheth.
Ap,	"		Ap-ia (Greece), the Earth.
Op,	"		Ops, the earth.
Ab,	"		Ava, Eva (Eve), the Earth.
Evius,	"	(a Sun-	
Bacchus,)			Evia.
Ao,	"		Aue, a meadow; Io, the moon.
Jah,	"		Aia, the Earth, and Joh, the moon, in Egypt.

* Tamie is both masculine and feminine.

As, the sun, Zeus,* Sios,	Asia.
Ishi,†	
Assur, the sun,	Assyria.
Arad, the sun, Jared,	Erde (Gothic Airtha), the Earth, Arit-imis.
Iom (day), the sun, Ami,	Maia, Mai, May, the Earth.
Jama,	Jami, the Earth.
Il,	Ila, the Earth.
Ad,	Aida, Ida, the Earth.
Ak, Fire-god, the sun,	Ach-aia (Greece), the Earth.
Adam,	Dem-eter, Earth goddess.
Adonis,	Tana-is, Diana, Earth goddess.
Anakos, the sun,	{ The Egyptian Anuke, the Earth.
Inachus,	
Ven (sun),	{ The Babylonian Onka, the goddess of Chaotic Matter.
Pan, Phan-es, Aven (sun),	Vena, the moon, a Hindu word.
Jan-us, the sun,	Ven-us, the Earth goddess.
Jonn,	Jana.
Uran-us, Saturn,	Juno.
Asar (Ahura),	Urani-a, celestial Venus.
Azar,	Hera (Juno, queen of heaven).
Asher (Baal, the sun),	Azara.
Asis (sun),	Ashera, Baal's goddess in Israel.
Adad (sun),	Isis, the Earth goddess.
Silen-us (a Sun-Bacchus),	Tit-aea, the Earth.
Hephaestus (fire-god of Greece),	Selen-e, the moon.
Apollo (sun),	Vesta, Roman fire-goddess.
Pales (Androgyne),	Pallas.
Kur (the sun),	Pales, goddess of cattle.
	{ Cora, the Earth.
	{ Cer-es, goddess of corn, &c.
	{ Charis, wife of Vulcan.

* Compare the Bible-names Uz, Az-ael, Uzzi-el, El-uzai, Jaaz-iah, Eli-asis, Dion-usos, the god Asis, and the Arabian deities Asas and Al-uzza.

† Hosea ii. 16.

Epure (Abar), Apollo's name.	Pyrrha, Deucalion's wife.
Adar (the fire-sun),	Terra, the Earth.
Jup-iter (the sun-god),	Terra, the Earth.
Tal (the Assyrian sun-god,	
Talaïos in Crete),	Tell-us, the Earth.

We have thus collected words of various countries, and divided them into the monosyllabic and dissyllabic names of sun-gods, of which they are compounded. It ought to cause no more surprise to find the god-names of Mesopotamia spread to the remotest extremities of Europe or to Hindustan, than to remark the resemblances in the languages of mankind from India to Ireland. The Latin word *genitor* is in Greek *genetḗr*, in Sanskrit *ganitâr*, in Irish *genteoir*. The words "I am" are in old French "is,mi"; in old Prussian, *esmi*; in Doric Greek, *esmi* or *emmi*; in Sanskrit, *asmi*. "He is" is in Sanskrit *asti*; in Greek, *esti*; in Zend, *asti*; in Darius's inscriptions, *astya*; in Latin, *est*; in German, *ist*; in French, *est*. The Latin "do" (or dare), to give, is in Egyptian *Ta*; in Lithuanian, *Dumi*; in Sanskrit, *Dādāmi*; in Greek, *Didōmi*; in the Hebrew, *Na-than*; in the Arabian, *Ata* (a gift); in the old Persian, *Tatam*, the participle (given); in the new Persian, *Dih* and *Dadan*, to give. Father is in Gothic *Fader*; in German, *Vater*; in Latin, *Pater*; in Greek, *Patḗr*; in Sanskrit, *Pitar*. Boy is (Niederbreton) *paotbra*, in Sanskrit *putra*, in Latin *puer*, in Greek *pais* (pronounced *pois*). Seven is the Gothic *sibun*, the German *sieben*, the Hebrew *seba*, the Latin *septem*, the Lithuanian *septyni*, the French *sept*, the Greek *hepta*, the Zend *hapta*, the Sanskrit *sapta* and *saptan*, the Arabic *sabatun*, the Ethiopian *saba-e-tu*, and the Egyptian *shash-fe* or *sas'f*.

Thus it is evident that there was a communication of ideas between all parts of the ancient world; language overflowed from one mouth to another.

Babylon lay on the Euphrates surrounded by artificial canals, and mistress of two great rivers. She was between Assyria, Persia, India, Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Europe. The Bible assigns to her the chief rank among the cities. She was "the first-born" in point of time. From Europe and India names are brought back to her as the source from which they



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Motley's Dutch Republic.

sprung. Second mother of mankind! The human intellect was cradled in her arms as she sat amidst her many waters. Her Magi went out, like the Apostles of Christ, bearing to other nations her language, her religion, her philosophy, her civilization. Like the Assyrian, "the waters made him great; the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her *little rivers* unto all the trees of the field."

S. F. D.

ART. VI. — MOTLEY'S DUTCH REPUBLIC.*

THE work whose title we give below* has the usual historical interest for all who love to watch the development of great critical periods, when conflicting forces seem fully roused and aware of their purposes, and the numerous causes which have been toiling obscurely to provide human passions with a striking occasion, all at once attain their end. But a far higher interest summons to the perusal of these volumes on the Dutch Republic every man who believes that liberty of conscience and of worship, freedom of speech, of person, and of labor, of the press and of the political debate, are the elements of national greatness. A book so significant in these respects, and so capable of affording striking parallels with the present, has seldom appeared under the title of a history. If the love of freedom would learn the full extent of patience and tenacity contained in its own principle, if liberal parties desire to see what energy is developed by continual mortifications and defeats, what a victory is finally granted to the men who suffer for the sake of no selfish hopes, and if the Protestant would understand how pitiless a dominant hierarchy can be that is possessed by the idea of its own infallibility, let him read Mr. Motley's powerful book. Here are reasons enough to prevent us from shrinking at sight of these three Dutch-built volumes, which come down rather

* *The Rise of the Dutch Republic. A History.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. In three volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1856. 8vo. pp. 579, 582, 664.

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solemnly into this shoal of small craft, slid from all our back-yards and mud-creeks, that threaten to block the way. Here are the romance and pathos of more than twenty years of terrible suffering, during which situations more dramatic than any pen of fancy has achieved were extorted from the sword's point, wrung from the rack, created from the faith and blood of men.

And it seems as if history had determined to establish a *Dutch* republic, to qualify for ever our rhetoric about the patriotism of the mountaineer, and the inaccessible fastnesses of freedom. The classical scholar loves to recollect the rocky walls which hemmed in the garden of Sparta, and the ravines which so long sheltered the tough old Ligurian republic. The popular orator generally attempts the ascent of Mont Blanc: his tropes skip like chamois among the rocks where hardy freedom dwells; the Alps are his citadel; avalanches are the vengeance of a long slumbering but at length awakened people; those specks of floating eagles are the high thoughts of a free intelligence; patches of vivid green and fragrant roses are the simple virtues of this inviolate asylum of the race. To correct this florid tendency, History takes us down relentlessly out of this mountain air, nor pauses till at the mouth of the Rhine, where the silt of the Alps spreads into a spongy soil below the sea-level, she plants the old liberty. The contrast is complete: we have gone so far from the stiffening glacier that the green water topples and threatens twenty feet overhead, and man must call his country into existence by first establishing its shores. Here, along the outer edge of these marshes, the people are obliged to keep up their dikes to prevent freedom from being swallowed by the tide. Or if tyranny becomes too threatening, they break down the massive barriers of earth and willow, and drench with brine their fat acres for the sake of drowning out those Spanish rats which gnaw them. Along the narrow embankments, which were the only roads over a trenched and drained country, the obstinate burgher and the disciplined veteran of Alva struggled for the mastery; deploying was out of the question, grappling was the only movement possible. In the course of those tedious campaigns, the canals which divided the soil into its arable patches drowned more

human beings than were slaughtered by the steel. And if a beleaguered city, reduced to its last horse for sustenance, could not be relieved in any other way, those hardy sailors of Zealand would bring their vessels through ruptured dikes, over a flowed country, up the village streets and among the branches of orchards, till the prows touched the city walls. The iron will of despotism yielded at length to the sincerity of these men, who knew how to destroy their country in order to save it; and who, as well as the Swiss, counted the advantages of their situation. So superior is freedom to tyranny, whether delving below the ocean surface, or hunting on the flanks of mighty hills.

Mr. Motley opens his work with a valuable introduction, which condenses the principal facts in the history of Holland, from the time of Cæsar's invasion to the abdication of Charles V. This portion of the work is admirably done. The reader must not slur it, in haste to reach the more dramatic-looking pages which succeed. He derives correctly, and characterizes with skill, the various races which were the original occupants of Holland and Belgium. He gives to Cæsar's Commentary the life and scenery of the country. Then follows the account of the introduction of Christianity, where we have this specimen of natural theology:—

“The new Mayor of the Palace,” under the Merovingian Pepin, “soon drove the Frisian Radbod (A. D. 692) into submission, and even into Christianity. A bishop's indiscretion, however, neutralized the apostolic blows of the Mayor. The pagan Radbod had already immersed one of his royal legs in the baptismal font, when a thought struck him. ‘Where are my dead forefathers at present?’ he said, turning suddenly upon Bishop Wolfran. ‘In hell, with all other unbelievers,’ was the imprudent answer. ‘Mighty well,’ replied Radbod, removing his leg. ‘Then will I rather feast with my ancestors in the halls of Woden, than dwell with your little starveling band of Christians in heaven.’ Entreaties and threats were unavailing. The Frisian declined positively a rite which was to cause an eternal separation from his buried kindred, and he died as he had lived, a heathen.”

Not long after this, however, Charles the Hammer enforced the Christian dispensation in a great battle which occurred A. D. 750, and the Frisians very sensibly com-

pounded for present life by a theoretical surrender of future intercourse with their forefathers.

During the long reign of feudalism in the Netherlands, three forces were slowly preparing the country for the enjoyment of municipal and social rights, many of which appeared to steal almost insensibly out of the midst of the tumult, and to win a prescription that kings could not neutralize. Mr. Motley condenses the features of several centuries in his exhibition of the forces of the sword, of the clergy, and of gold. Under the reign of gold, independent municipalities were developed all over Holland, and in maintaining these her thrifty children learned much of the business of freedom; without claiming a technical share in the government, they yet modified it by obstinately adhering to their local interests and usages, and without comprehending all the human rights which make a people truly free, they were slowly preparing a happy issue for the great struggle in the sixteenth century, when the republic was born. Such independent vigor, such confidence and practical wisdom, existed nowhere else under any feudal government. Mr. Motley traces the origin of the borough, the guild, the charter, the popular election of chief magistrate and aldermen, and shows what inroads prosperous communities made upon the prerogative of the sovereign. Then the trade with England, the Mediterranean, and the East expands. Under these prosperous conditions we hardly care to know who is Count of Holland, how or when the countship fell to different houses, how a Duke of Bavaria gets himself established there (1354), or how the beautiful Jacqueline, in 1417, finds herself cursed with the rule of these turbulent provinces. By her death she transfers them to the house of Burgundy, in 1437, thus connecting the countries, hitherto isolated, with the general policy of Europe.

But at this epoch, under Philip the Good, founder of the order of the Golden Fleece, a change commenced in the fortunes of the Netherlands. "The spirit of liberty seemed to have been typified in the fair form of the benignant and unhappy Jacqueline, and to be buried in her grave. The usurper, who had crushed her out of existence, now strode forward to trample upon all the laws and privileges of the provinces which had formed

her heritage." Philip declared null and void all the constitutions to which he had sworn as the guardian of Jacqueline. By this stroke he entered upon power without a pledge to restrain him; and he inaugurated the policy of restraint and unjust interference which continued till the time of Orange. But Mr. Motley shows how, in the mean while, the material prosperity of the country was increasing. "The natural sources of power were full to overflowing, while the hand of despotism was deliberately sealing the fountain." And here too we find one of those striking contrasts which Mr. Motley delights to present, between Philip the Good, at the height of his power, and Lawrence Coster, the poor sexton of Harlem, whose little grammar printed from wooden types taught freedom its parts of speech.

Charles the Bold succeeded Philip. Among the privileges which Holland still retained, the *jus de non evocando*, "the right of every Hollander to be tried in his own land," was invaded by Charles, who proclaimed that the supreme council, composed of his creatures, was to follow his person and represent his will. And afterwards, when Philip the Second endeavored to enforce the authority of this council, he lent an element to the great revolution.

We must hasten over the crowding and significant points of this masterly introduction. After the death of Charles, the oppressed provinces at a single bound recover almost all their ancient rights. And they wring from his child, the Lady Mary, the "Great Privilege," which embodied the fundamental law of the land, and secured recognition for the existence of the people. It was often trampled upon; nevertheless, it held the roots of the republic. The Lady Mary marries Maximilian of Austria, and the government passes from the house of Burgundy. Her son, Philip the Fair, receives the homage of the different states of the Netherlands, in 1494. He ignores the "Great Privilege," and swears to support only the constitutions granted by Philip and Charles of Burgundy. And the provinces abjectly put themselves beneath his feet. He marries, in 1496, Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, and Charles V., who unites Spain and the Netherlands under one sceptre, is the fruit of this union.

Mr. Motley has a fine chapter indicating the political character of Charles's administration on occasion of the great insurrection at Ghent. That uproarious city of the Flemings is described as it has never been before; he gives us, in half a dozen pages, picturesque elements enough to set up a modern mediæval novel. He and the reader are by-standers while the great bell Roland rings a hundred thousand armed workmen into the streets, where they beleaguer the town-hall with its Gothic and Moorish fronts, to destroy the infamous "calf-skin" which had curtailed their liberties. We see the magnificent display at the entry of the Emperor Charles, when the doomed city had easy hospitality for sixty thousand strangers with their fifteen thousand horses. And all the shifting pictures of the time close with the pompous theatrical ceremony which Charles had invented, at once to forgive and to humiliate the rebellious city.

The religious condition of the Netherlands must be understood before we can estimate all the revolutionary elements which drove Philip II. out of his provinces. We can easily imagine that this audacious and prosperous people had handled the pretences of the clergy with ungloved hands. They had also been accustomed, from the twelfth century, to discuss points of theology with a freedom which must have been unparalleled even in Germany, if we may judge from the excesses committed by various impostors, who found their brief countenance in the liberal disposition of the cities. Holland was always inquisitive and protesting. Flanders, with its predominating Gallic population, had greater inclination for the visible pomp of the Church's ceremonial, and always held that light to be the best which fell through its unrivalled windows of stained glass. In this respect, the Flemish citizens were on better terms with the bigotry of Philip and Alva, who made the destruction of the stained windows at the Hague, Leyden, Ypres, and other places, in 1566, the last pretext to let loose their vengeance upon the provinces. Still, it is clear that a wide-spread religious dissatisfaction gave cohesion to all the material and political causes of the revolution. Those cities revolted most vigorously in which the sentiments of Luther and Erasmus were most popular. On the one hand, the Inquisition proposed to crush out polit-

ical revolt, as well as religious freedom; on the other hand, religious freedom was constantly encouraging and maintaining the people in their attitude of revolt. As early as the commencement of the twelfth century, the career of heretics and reformers had commenced. Between Tauchelyn and John of Leyden, more than four centuries were filled with false prophets, whose influence over the populace alternated with that of numerous sects, Waldenses, Perfectists, Lollards, Arnaldists, who waged a war of intellect with Rome. Tauchelyn, a man of gross habits and destructive views, lived in Antwerp like an Eastern satrap; three hundred guards attended his steps, the people imagined divine qualities in the water in which he washed, and the announcement of his approaching marriage with the Virgin Mary drew contributions of money from an immense crowd who came to witness the ceremony. His success was so great, that he travelled to Rome, proselyting as he went. Yet the Bible and the Reformation were cherished in the same popular bosom that contained these bestial and superstitious elements. Such contrasts are likely to appear in any community; but the vivid, audacious, and expansive temper of the Netherlands clothed them in terrible and dramatic colors. The people always painted like Rubens, giving to their flesh and to their faith the same glow and broadness, lavishing the same naked sincerity upon their vilest and purest emotions. The same people of Antwerp who permitted Tauchelyn to make every house his harem, who drank the contents of his wash-basin, and who rushed with infatuation to see the Virgin's image which he married, afterwards displayed a Protestant rage as great as this Catholic devotion, and plunged their daggers into the body of Mary, and tore off her embroidered garments with a contempt as whole-souled as their respect. In 1566, the famous onslaught of the Iconoclasts occurred, and the great cathedral felt the revenge which time wrought through the children of Tauchelyn's devotees. "Indefatigably, audaciously, endowed, as it seemed, with preternatural strength and nimbleness, these furious Iconoclasts clambered up the dizzy heights, shrieking and chattering like malignant apes, as they tore off in triumph the slowly-matured fruit of centuries. The statue of Christ was wrenched from its place with

ropes and pulleys, while the malefactors, with bitter and blasphemous irony, were left on high. . . . A troop of harlots, snatching waxen tapers from the altars, stood around the destroyers and lighted them at their work." This mob dashed in pieces every crucifix and image in the recesses at the street-corners, sacked thirty churches, burned the libraries of monasteries, and left all the ancient wine and ale running, invaded the nunneries, and put the mark of their retribution wherever a picture or a statue symbolized a hated priesthood. What wild forms and colors starting from the glooms of Rembrandt! "Yet the rage was directed exclusively against stocks and stones. Not a man was wounded, nor a woman outraged. A monk who had been in the prison of the Barefoot Monastery for twelve years, recovered his freedom. Art was trampled in the dust, but humanity deplored no victims."

What incompatible but bold and muscular traits in this mob of two or three hundred men! Their midnight rage was lighted by sacred tapers in the hands of harlots as they tore Christ away from the company of the thieves, who represented priestly corruption, and they returned every coin and jewel that their indiscriminate arms had scattered on the pavements! Such a mob was a caricature of the broadness and sincerity in which the people chose to clothe all their emotions. But justice, faith, and self-devotion were set forth with the same sensuous heartiness belonging to men who had drained, fished, manufactured, invented, built, and thought for themselves for centuries.

The French Bible, translated by Waldo, was "rendered into Netherland rhyme," and men read it openly and with enthusiasm. Dr. Grandfort, of Groningen, preaches everywhere against the infallibility of the Pope, prayers for the dead, and the doctrines of purgatory and absolution, before Luther has opened with his attack upon indulgences. The doctrines of Wickliffe had long been espoused. And at length the shrewd pen of Erasmus encourages the spirit of Luther, dissects without mercy the vices of the clergy, and sets the polished intellect of the whole land fermenting with the truth. By way of contrast and exaggeration, great numbers suffer themselves to be misled by the Anabaptists,

who, between the Church and the Reformers, have little chance short of extermination. "In 1526, Felix Mantz is drowned at Zurich, in obedience to Zwingle's pithy formula, — *Qui iterum mergit mergatur*. The Germans, Muncer and Hoffman, had been succeeded, as chief prophets, by a Dutch baker, named Matthiszoon, of Harlem, who announced himself as Enoch." John of Leyden was his disciple, the joint plunderer of Munster, where humanity and decency were outraged, as if to put in strong colors before the clergy their own habits and translate their veiled grossness into the vernacular. We may shrink with horror from the blasphemy and cruelty of these low-bred fanatics, but we cannot help seeing that their acts were the satire of nature upon sanctimonious corruption, and that the condition of the Church was reflected in the degradation of its opposers. Jacobinism reduces in blood and tears the appalling statistics of every demoralized society. The Netherlanders enacted this historical justice in a way that had less malice in it than sensuality. The insurgent or fanatic Gaul in Flanders travestied divine and human authority, and indulged even his passions on the plea of some old polygamic scripture. He smote his enemies and spoiled their goods under the intense conviction that they were Amalekites and people of Ai. A perverted and darkened capacity for believing in some kind of invisible truth lent some method to his lowest excesses. The Gaul in Paris never became fanaticized by men like Matthiszoon and John of Leyden, who cursed, killed, ravished, and confiscated, with their sensual hearts puffed by patriarchal reminiscences. There was not popular scripture enough to run mad in such a way. The revolts of the *sans culottes* went to sheer malice and desperation, to a cruelty that was impassive, and not brawny, humorous, and beer-fed, to a deliberate official recognition of the non-existence of any objects of religious faith, and to the parade of a harlot as a goddess. This difference is traceable to the long impunity during which the Netherlander wove and sold his cloth, salted his herrings, cherished his municipal rights, and brooded over the passion and vengeance of the Old Testament. In Holland, where faith was clearer, and the clergy had earlier lost their control over the minds of men, excesses were less

frantic and cruel, and more deliberately committed, in the name of some principle or question. "On a cold winter's night (February, 1535), seven men and five women, inspired by the Holy Ghost, threw off their clothes, and rushed naked and raving through the streets, shrieking, 'Woe, woe, woe! The wrath of God! the wrath of God!' When arrested, they obstinately refused to put on clothing. 'We are,' they observed, 'the naked truth.'" This unphlegmatic scene occurred in Amsterdam, where, as in Germany, millennial texts seemed to have predestined the sombre aspect of the age.

During all these troubles, the policy of the government was overbearing, indiscriminate, stung by a madness akin to that which it strove to suppress: so that the most moderate men became disgusted, and secretly favored the enthusiasm of the field-preachers of Calvinistic doctrine. An imperial edict condemned all heretics to death. The poor old woman who read her Bible by stealth was hunted out and crushed as summarily as John of Leyden. A cobbler in Mons was hanged for having eaten meat-soup on Friday. Paupers were executed for the crime of taking alms dispensed at Protestant preachings. A tapestry-weaver of Tournay, having copied a portion of a Genevan book of hymns, was burned alive. Schoolmasters who were "addicted to reading the Bible" were strangled and then burnt. An old lady of eighty-four years, who had given a field-preacher a night's lodging, was carried to the scaffold in a chair, to be beheaded.

"A poor Anabaptist, guilty of no crime but his fellowship with a persecuted sect, had been condemned to death. He had made his escape, closely pursued by an officer of justice, across a frozen lake. It was late in the winter, and the ice had become unsound. It trembled and cracked beneath his footsteps, but he reached the shore in safety. The officer was not so fortunate. The ice gave way beneath him, and he sank into the lake, uttering a cry for succor. There were none to hear him, except the fugitive whom he had been hunting. Dirk Willemzoon, for so was the Anabaptist called, instinctively obeying the dictates of a generous nature, returned, crossed the quaking and dangerous ice at the peril of his life, extended his hand to his enemy, and saved him from certain death. Unfortunately for human nature, it cannot be added that the generosity of the action was met by a corresponding heroism. The officer was

desirous, it is true, of avoiding the responsibility of sacrificing the preserver of his life, but the burgomaster of Asperen sternly reminded him of his oath."

The unfortunate policeman accordingly overcame his prejudices, arrested his preserver, and kept his oath at the expense of all that in his soul which should make an oath worth taking. We wonder which appeared to him the better, as his victim slowly roasted at the stake, his oath as constable or his obligations as a man! Does not every epoch of legal anarchy reproduce the same hideous features in the name of law and order? Surely Providence owed a republic to the brethren of this Christian fugitive. And so long as Divine justice is held in reserve, invisible and impalpable to the wrath of men who take oaths against Christ, the supporters of the golden rule will be able to collect that debt of conscience and freedom.

Compared with such a violation of nature done in the name of government, (as if to emasculate a man were the same as to govern him,) the attacks which were made upon Catholic sensibilities appear merely technical; as when, for instance, Bertrand le Blas committed a crime which was inconceivable in the estimation of that epoch. On Christmas day, he stationed himself near the altar, and when the priest elevated the consecrated host, he rushed forward, snatched the wafer from the fingers of the astonished official, and cried aloud, as he broke it in pieces, "Misguided men! do ye take this thing to be Jesus Christ, your Lord and Saviour?" He then trampled the fragments beneath his feet. When we read the punishment that was devised for him, it is easy to imagine that a popular revulsion might forget the violated wafer, and rather believe the spirit of the Saviour substantial in the man. But at that time it was death even to neglect kneeling in the street when the holy wafer was carried by. A poor huckster, named Simon, was taken from his booth and burned for omitting this ceremony. "In this particular case, it is recorded that the sheriff who was present at the execution was so much affected by the courage and fervor of the simple-minded victim, that he went home, took to his bed, became delirious, crying constantly, 'Ah, Simon! Simon!' and died miserably, notwithstanding," adds the

chronicler, naively, "all that the monks could do to console him."

What a period, when the contrasting emotions of the human breast filled every market-square with the pathos of high tragedy, when weavers and nobles fell into spontaneous attitudes wilder and more dramatic than art has ever conceived! How the pale fervor of the martyr shone against the purple rage of the beast, throughout this miserable country, which imperial edicts converted into one vast amphitheatre. Law thirsted for the life-blood of its victims, in the vain expectation of draining out the conscience through that stream. Conscience left its garment in the grasp of its pursuers. Law is tenacious and enduring, but immortality is more so: the sword, after all, is not so cunning of fence as the spirit. Nevertheless, it appeared to Philip II. that the sword of his governors, though sinking powerless from the grasp of each, and taken up by five of them in succession to marshal his unsleeping hate through the provinces, would finally extinguish liberty of conscience by cutting off the last of its adherents. For extermination seemed to him preferable to heresy, and he thought that a devastated country could show forth the glory of God as well as cities infested with Bible-reading and self-relying men. A glorious republic, which endured two hundred years, whose admirals swept and disputed every sea, whose merchant statesmen brought the wealth of the Indies home to aggrandize worship and freedom, whose inventive and exploring people polished the diamond, captured the whale, bleached the cloth, ennobled the canvas, and rung the sweet chimes of liberty for all Europe, was the prolonged response to Philip's delusion.

And though at the end of two hundred years the name of republic was supplanted on every national coin and emblem by the name of a king, the strength and intelligence of the people continued unimpaired. It was like a pageant of their ancient guilds, when the workman, thrusting his bulk into stately costumes, felt his thews rejoice underneath the masquerade. Holland boasts no longer the magnificence in which William of Orange and Barneveldt had clothed her; but her secondary position does not prevent her Church from being free and her people happy. And those results of Philip's tyranny

will endure so long as her dikes resist the ocean. Her consent to waive the unchallenged title of "Great Republic" was really given on that day when the Mayflower took a Bible from Delft-haven, and brought it westward with Robinson's prophetic blessing. While we are still struggling to vindicate all the truth which comes out of God's word, that slender thread is strong enough to carry our thoughts back into the days of darkness and trial; let them stand there, by the side of William of Orange, observant of the temper which compels legal persecution to release the rights of man.

The treatment which the Jews met with in the Netherlands shows how deeply rooted the sentiment of toleration was in the nature of the people. It was not a convenient afterthought which politicians used to advance their cause; and it did not spring from opposition to imperial bigotry. But the people were born with that instinct in their breasts, and illustrious refugees from every other country in Europe found grateful shelter within the walls of Dutch cities, which they enriched by their various talents. Thus the intelligence of the nation was continually recruited by minds that had suffered for opinion's sake; and we see another element of the forthcoming republic. The privileges accorded to the Jews testify in a remarkable degree to this traditional feeling of humanity and respect for conscience. In every other country of Europe the Jew was kennelled in the miserable *ghetto* or quarter assigned to him, whence he never emerged without exciting abuse and outrage. Germany, in particular, seemed to remember with vindictiveness the crucifixion of our Lord. During the Middle Ages the populace had periodical fits of hatred and terror, the imagination attributed to the Jews the most appalling crimes, and they were hunted out with unreflecting vengeance. Extortion, restriction, contumely, assault, were the normal elements of their existence. In England, all Jews were slaves, by the laws of Edward the Confessor, and their property was liable to be taken for the use of the king. There was a sliding scale or tariff of blackmail, by which they compounded for the right to live and to make money. They were pillaged and massacred upon the slightest pretext; King John fleeced them, the bishops of Henry III. put them under a species of ban,

"and when, in 1262, the barons appeared in arms to enforce the observance of the Great Charter, in order to propitiate the populace they put several hundreds of this unhappy race to the sword."* In France they were *adscripti glebæ*; if they were baptized, the rite was regarded as a declaration of bankruptcy, and the lord took possession of their effects. They were obliged to wear a badge, to avoid the society of Christians; if exiled, to buy permission to return. In Spain, a million of Jews received sentence of perpetual banishment, in 1492. The most industrious and inventive took refuge in Holland, and maintained themselves in free competition with the inhabitants, no longer subject to senseless outbreaks of popular fanaticism. "There alone," says McCullagh, "they dared at all times to breathe freely, to stand upright without fear, to remember that of one flesh hath God made all the nations of the earth."

We are enabled thus to have an idea of the temperament of the people among whom Philip established his Inquisition. There was a widely diffused intelligence thirsting for truth and high debate, ready to parry or to resist encroachments; there was the humorous and muscular audacity of men who had kept up their municipal usages for centuries; there was the instinct of unlimited toleration, which afterwards, oblivious of the rack, the flaying-knife, and the stake, abolished every penal law against Catholics introduced by the dominating Calvinism in 1583; there was the quick excitability of fraternizing guilds, which made the Flemish insurrections the most dangerous in Europe; there was the sensuality of brutes, and the fierce exaltation of Mænads tearing their victim limb from limb in religious orgies;—these were the elements against which Philip brought the veterans of his army, and the choicest devices in the torture-chamber of Madrid.

Mr. Motley, after preparing us by his fine Introduction to understand and sympathize with the epoch which he has chosen for his History, opens it with the abdication of Charles V. In our previous sketch we have anticipated a portion of the rich materials which he spreads before

* W. T. McCullagh's "Industrial History of Free Nations. Vol. II. The Dutch."

us, having drawn thence a few facts to carry out his hints of the temper of the Netherlanders. They may, we hope, direct an earnest attention towards these volumes, and atone for the meagre analysis which remains to be given of the body of the History. For no analysis can be anything but a catalogue of Mr. Motley's facts; we should as soon meddle with the splendid lights and colors of the magnates of the Flemish school, as pick with our pen at these portraits, these sombre executions, these warm and flowing pageants, these days lived within beleaguered cities. They glow upon the page where all may view them.

The abdication of Charles V. took place in accordance with the programme which he had carefully drawn up, each emotion and tear fell in its proper place, and he passed off the stage gracefully, supported between his crutch and the shoulder of the Prince of Orange. He left behind him the ferocious edicts against heresy, and inquisitors well trained in their function. He left fifty thousand graves of men whose crime had been non-conformity. Philip lifted this bloody sceptre, and certainly preserved its hue while his hands could grasp it. At the age of twenty-eight he receives the Provinces from his father, and swears to support all their constitutions and privileges,—an oath which the father had invented to conciliate the people. After the campaigns against France, in which Egmont won his fame, Philip appointed Margaret of Parma as Regent of the Netherlands, and returned to Spain. In his farewell address he avoided any allusion to one of the chief grievances of the Netherlanders, the presence of Spanish troops; but he demanded three millions of florins, and reminded the authorities to enforce the edicts and decrees against all heresies. The deputies of the Provinces, in their reply, besought the king to withdraw all the foreign troops, and made the withdrawal a condition to the payment of their respective quotas. The rage of the king was great at being obliged to take away with him this firm remonstrance.

The idea of a republic had not yet dawned upon the most enlightened minds in the provinces. Nothing was farther from their intention than a denial of the divine right of Philip to tax and govern them. If he would only consent to do both with a moderate respect for their

ancient privileges, no people would surpass them in loyal and filial attachment. For twenty-five years they resisted Philip's governors in his own name; to the very last, they supported the legal fiction of his supreme authority. The republic was an inevitable result of the popular elements which came to self-consciousness in the bitter air of sorrow. And though this continual deference to Philip, as king "by the grace of God," looks to us now like a flimsy insincerity, at the time it sheltered the growing freedom, and saved it from the jealous fear of all Europe. The attitude was simply that of an enterprising people, who clung to certain rights and guarantees. William of Orange would have been the first to dread the suggestion of a republic, as fatal to the security of their actual liberties. He was the first man in the Provinces who received warning of the designs of Catholic potentates to crush out freedom of speech and worship. But this happy accident had only the effect of confirming the Prince's opposition to the royal encroachments; he was still a true Catholic, though he hated the Inquisition with all the ardor of an honest man. He earned the surname of "the Silent" from the manner in which he listened to the French king's unfortunate disclosure of the great plot, "without revealing to the monarch, by word or look, the enormous blunder which he had committed." From that moment the powers of this great man were secretly devoted to his country, and used in its defence with wonderful patience, subtlety, and firmness, with a faith that encircled the cities of Holland when the tide of tyranny rose highest like their protecting dikes, and faint-hearted men rallied behind it, and thanked God for the great bulwark. But even his conversion to Calvinism brought him no nearer to a consciousness that a Catholic throne could never shelter a Protestant people. His caution prompted him to speak continually in the name of some high power, to strive for adjustments with Spain, to effect coalitions with France, to lift the shield of some established government over the trembling rights of his people. All these prudential efforts were bitterly crossed: he could not even induce the Catholic Flanders heartily to fraternize with the more Protestant Holland, though their grievances were the same. The shot of his assassin was "heard round

the world," for it cut all the ties of prudence, and summoned an afflicted nation to a sense of power. Then the dead Prince of Orange reappeared in the republican majesty which had always been latent in his life, and kings fell away from it ashamed.

The details of the successive administrations of Margaret of Parma, the Duke of Alva, Requesens, Don John of Austria, and Alexander of Parma, between the years 1559 and 1584, are the intrigues, tortures, butcheries, and sieges, the vain coalitions, the cruel treacheries, and the almost uninterrupted series of defeats, which, distilled, as it were, through the genius of William of Orange, appeared at his death converted into victory. His character was a conquest in itself: it made the most untoward circumstances subservient. His generals were defeated, his best friends died, his most trusted adherents took the enemy's gold, and opened the gates behind which Liberty was crouching,—assassins lay in wait to earn the price of his head,—Spanish valor and subtlety were always just on the point of ruining him; yet he plucked the flower safety out of all these stinging weeds. He had need to cry with his last breath, "O my God, have mercy on this poor people!" for God then seemed to have resumed the life which had been the manifestation of his mercy to a thwarted nation. But human malice fell at the same time, pushed like a miserable slave into the grave which it has just dug for a victim.

The pillar of the administration of the Duchess Margaret was Cardinal Granvelle, who supported the measure, most odious to the Provinces, by which new bishoprics were created for the express object of embodying and sustaining an Inquisition. It was a violation of provincial privileges which the king had sworn to observe. The character of the Cardinal is a good specimen of Mr. Motley's skill with the pencil.

"He knew how to govern under the appearance of obeying. He possessed exquisite tact in appreciating the characters of those far above him in rank and beneath him in intellect. He could accommodate himself with great readiness to the idiosyncrasies of sovereigns. He was a chameleon to the hand which fed him. In his intercourse with the king, he colored himself, as it were, with the king's character. He was not himself, but Philip; not the sullen, hesitating, confused Philip, but Philip endowed with

eloquence, readiness, facility. The king ever found himself anticipated with the most delicate obsequiousness, beheld his struggling ideas change into winged words without ceasing to be his own. No flattery could be more adroit. The bishop accommodated himself to the king's epistolary habits. The silver-tongued and ready debater substituted protocols for conversation, in deference to a monarch who could not speak. He corresponded with Philip, with Margaret of Parma, with every one. He wrote folios to the Duchess when they were in the same palace. He would write letters forty pages long to the king, and send off another courier on the same day with two or three additional despatches of identical date. Such prolixity enchanted the king, whose greediness for business epistles was insatiable. The painstaking monarch toiled, pen in hand, after his wonderful minister, in vain. Philip was only fit to be the bishop's clerk; yet he imagined himself to be the directing and governing power. The bishop gave advice and issued instructions, when he seemed only receiving them. His aptitude for managing men was very great; his capacity for affairs incontestable; but it must always be understood as the capacity for the affairs of absolutism. His industry was enormous. He could write fifty letters a day with his own hand. He could dictate to half a dozen amanuenses at once, on as many different subjects, in as many different languages, and send them away exhausted."

Besides creating the new bishoprics, Philip re-enacted an edict which seems to be levelled against almost every species of liberty that a healthy man deems desirable. The king lifted it up into supremacy over all the other constitutions and guaranties of the provinces, and held it there till his authority expired. Underneath this edict the nation struggled and staggered, naked to all its pitiless blows, unconscious that fidelity to every principle which it disowned was a virtual republic. For look at some of the clauses of this edict, and judge if a practical contradiction of them could be less than the birth of an independent people:—

"No one shall print, write, copy, keep, conceal, sell, buy, or give, in churches, streets, or other places, any book or writing made by Martin Luther, John Ecolampadius, Ulrich Zwinglius, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, or other heretics reprobated by the Holy Church. We forbid all lay persons *to converse or dispute concerning the Holy Scriptures*, openly or secretly, especially on any doubtful or difficult matters, or *to read, teach, or expound the Scriptures*, unless they have duly studied theology and been approved by some renowned university; or to

preach secretly or openly, or to entertain any of the opinions of the above-mentioned heretics, on pain —”

Of what? a heavy fine, — an entire confiscation, — perpetual imprisonment, perpetual exile, the face branded and the ears cropped? Such perturbators who, as Mr. Motley says, were guilty of reading “Christ’s Sermon on the Mount to their children in their own parlor or shop,” are to be executed: “to wit, the men with the sword and the women to be buried alive, if they *do not* persist in their errors; if they do persist in them, then they are to be executed with fire, — all their property in both cases being confiscated to the crown.”

This edict is drawn up with a diabolical ingenuity which exhausts the whole subject and provides for every contingency, in contemptuous forgetfulness of all the constitutional provisions of the people. It is not possible to imagine a more deliberate recognition of the lowest passions of human nature, with an authorized premium upon them, than the other clauses of the edict. Those who neglect to betray the suspected, are liable to the same punishment with them. It was death to “lodge, entertain, furnish with food, fire, or clothing,” any one suspected of being a heretic. Any one thus suspected of heresy, and *therefore condemned* to make public fine or reparation, shall lose life and property if he happen to become suspected again, even if it should turn out that the suspicion was groundless. The clause that aims at educating a class of spies and denouncers is very minute, and plies the breast with the double stimulus of reward and fear. A special bounty was held out to treachery, in the provision, “that, if any man, being present at any secret conventicle, shall afterwards come forward and betray his fellow-members of the congregation, he shall receive full pardon.” And lest the severity of these decrees should inspire the feeling that they were only meant to frighten people into conformity, all persons of whatsoever rank were forbidden “to ask of us, or of any one having authority, *to grant pardon*, or to present any petition in favor of such heretics, exiles, or fugitives, on penalty of being declared for ever incapable of civil or military office, and of being arbitrarily punished besides.”

The Catholic Prince of Orange remonstrated against

the execution of this edict, and resisted it from the beginning; he foresaw all the miseries which actually came upon the provinces from an Inquisition legalized by such decrees and enforced by foreign troops. Not an execution took place which did not cost the government the loyalty of many hearts; the process was tedious, but at length all hearts had become converted. Granvelle went into retirement, to escape from the jealousy of the nobles and from the popular indignation. The remonstrances which the nobles send to the king are answered by fresh injunctions to the authorities to be stringent and implacable. The nobles express their dissatisfaction, in caucuses and at banquets, at the insignificant part which they play in the councils of the Regent. Egmont, Horn, Brederode, and others, form a league, and present to Margaret the famous Request, which recapitulated the state of the country and urged the repeal of the Edicts. It was on this occasion that the confederates earned the soubriquet of "the Beggars"; it designated, long after they had passed away, the partisans of liberty by land and sea, and became the terrible watchword of the people. "There go our fine beggars again," said an ultra-Catholic noble, alluding to Brederode's and Egmont's debts. The luxurious and eccentric Brederode gave a great banquet to inaugurate the league and baptize it with a name. After he had drenched his three hundred guests in liberal cups, he called to one of his pages,

"who brought him a leathern wallet, such as was worn at that day by professional mendicants, together with a large wooden bowl, which also formed part of their regular appurtenances. Brederode immediately hung the wallet around his neck, filled the bowl with wine, lifted it with both hands, and drained it at a draught. 'Long live the beggars!' he cried, as he wiped his beard and set the bowl down. '*Vivent les gueux!*' Then for the first time, from the lips of those reckless nobles, rose the famous cry, which was so often to ring over land and sea, amid blazing cities, and blood-stained decks, through the smoke and carnage of many a stricken field. The humor of Brederode was hailed with deafening shouts of applause. The Count then threw the wallet around the neck of his nearest neighbor, and handed him the wooden bowl. Each guest, in turn, donned the mendicant's knapsack. Pushing aside his golden goblet, each filled the beggars' bowl to the brim, and drained it to the beggars' health. Roars of laughter, and shouts of '*Vivent les*

gueulx!' shook the walls of the stately mansion, as they were doomed never to shake again. The shibboleth was invented. The conjuration which they had been anxiously seeking was found. Their enemies had provided them with a spell which was to prove, in after days, potent enough to start a spirit from palace or hovel, forest or wave, as the deeds of the 'wild beggars,' the 'wood beggars,' and the 'beggars of the sea,' taught Philip at last to understand the nation which he had driven to madness."

Orange was too moderate and politic to associate himself with such a demonstration, and none of those nobles were efficient instruments of his subsequent designs. They and their measures passed lightly away before the slow rolling cloud that was afterwards to overhang and refresh the land.

The field-preachings, the tumults of the Iconoclasts, the operations of the nobles, the skirmishes between the troops and sectaries, decided Philip to make an armed invasion of the Netherlands. The troops destined for this object were put under the command of the Duke of Alva, who would also supersede the Regent Margaret. The redoubtable commander made his appearance upon the scene in the summer of 1567, and after having gained uniform success in all his undertakings, he retired in 1573, baffled in his great object of reducing the Netherland heresy by force of arms. The details of his administration are sanguinary and ferocious beyond belief.

"From the pompous and theatrical scaffolds of Egmont and Horn, to the nineteen halts prepared by Master Karl to hang up the chief bakers and brewers of Brussels on their own thresholds,—from the beheading of the twenty nobles on the Horse-Market, in the opening of the governor's career, to the roasting alive of Nitenhoove at its close,—from the block on which fell the honored head of Anthony Straalen, to the obscure chair in which the ancient gentlewoman of Amsterdam suffered death for an act of mercy,—from one year's end to another's,—from the most signal to the most squalid scenes of sacrifice,—the eye and hand of the great master directed, without weariness, the task imposed by the sovereign."

Some of Mr. Motley's best pages record the Duke's administration. The arrest and execution of Counts Egmont and Horn is a most admirable specimen of dramatic history. Mr. Motley lingers over all such

moments with an unusual copiousness of detail; but it does not fret and retard the breathless interest with which we follow. Less minuteness might demand less art, but then we should not be carried back so completely into the event, and find mere trifles as momentous as the actors did. As an artist and as a sympathizing man, Mr. Motley lives in the epoch which he observes. It is difficult to find a history in which the writer has so thoroughly antedated his own personality, and made it mingle with the citizens till it has become receptive of their love and hate, feels the same rack, and grasps the same sword in helpful enthusiasm. He does not criticise a century; he immerses himself and us in its emotions. He describes, for instance, the bloody assizes of the Inquisition, as a burgher would who yearned to read his Bible and listen to the preached word of God. Titelmann, the Jeffries of the Netherlands, has him under suspicion, and the unpleasant fingers of the familiars may be playing around his throat at any time. Historical impartiality consists in an accurate reproduction of all the human feelings of such a situation. There are two sides to the history of the Catholic Church, but only one side to the history of the Inquisition in the Netherlands. If it were Mr. Motley's object to bring into the field of view all the elements which that Church contained, he would doubtless take us with the Jesuits to Paraguay, to China, and Japan, and his hand would help rear the cross which the devoted bishop carried to the Frisians. He would rekindle fire in the words of St. Bernard, repaint the logic of Aquinas, and gratefully follow the charities of Elizabeth of Hungary. If, under the sign of that Church, faith and devotion have ever advanced truth or protected humanity, Mr. Motley would be the first man on the spot, beckoning us to come and see. But the annals of the Church in Holland commit a man to quite a different task, and we could not respect a writer who did not feel as a free citizen of the country. As soon call a man sectarian who believes in God, as call a lover of freedom of conscience and speech a partisan.

Mr. Motley does not forget to record the occasional outrages which were committed by the Calvinists when they began to predominate. Philip had planted an in-

stitution in the country capable of qualifying all its inhabitants in cruelty. The wonder is that such atrocious imitations were not of daily occurrence, for the people had no time to forget how the faces of their kindred looked in the smoke, nor how the cherished blood lay spilled upon the scaffold. Orange anticipated such seasons of retaliation by the most stringent orders and entreaties, and saved the glory of the people's suffering from being tarnished by revenge.

Mr. Motley also corrects our fanciful ideas of some characters as a man would who was their contemporary. Goethe's *Egmont* and Schiller's *Don Carlos* derive their excellence from the poet's license to magnify historic doubts and mysteries. But when these are resolved by a skilful collation of fresh evidence, *Egmont* is no patriot, and *Don Carlos* is a tyrannical and sensual youth. *Egmont* had expensive tastes and a good deal of egotism. He was a dashing commander of cavalry, and was flattered out of all rational sense of his own importance. He felt slighted because the Regent did not defer to him more in her administration, and he hated Cardinal Granvelle, who made him feel what an empty-headed spendthrift he was. He went to Spain to carry the remonstrance of the nobles, and came back with an infatuation for Philip so complete, that neither Orange's warning nor the ill omens that gathered round him awakened a single suspicion. The only romance about *Egmont* was of the melodramatic kind. Fancy has painted on the sombre canvas of that period the figure of a young noble, jewelled, bearded, high-browed, an idol of the people, in the magnificent attitude of protecting their liberties, and staking the prestige of a great family against arbitrary power. The jewels and the beard are the only properties remaining. Mr. Motley arrays in them a prodigal, half-bankrupt, and vamping soldier, irresistible in a charge, cutting and graceful in his caricatures of the Cardinal, a hot partisan of noble privileges, but ignorant of the popular necessities, infected with bold sentiments at home, but completely fuddled in half an hour's talk with Philip. When the Duke of Alva came, who bore a grudge against the splendid captain, he rode out to welcome him with all the unconsciousness and self-satisfaction of *Malvolio*,

and failed to see his scaffold lowering in the Duke's first look. It was fortunate for Holland that such inordinate vanity was thus cut off, for it would have betrayed the noblest cause.

The name of Don Carlos is only once mentioned by the Prince of Orange, "who said in a letter that the 'Prince of Spain had lately eaten sixteen pounds of fruit, including four pounds of grapes, at a single sitting, and had become ill in consequence.' 'The result was sufficiently natural,'" continues Mr. Motley, "but it nowhere appears that the royal youth, born to consume the fruits of the earth so largely, had ever given the Netherlanders any other proof of his capacity to govern them. There is no doubt that he was a most uncomfortable personage at home, both to himself and to others, and that he hated his father very cordially." Mr. Motley clears up the mysteries in which the dark policy of the father has enveloped Don Carlos; and a half-witted, malicious, gluttonous, incontinent figure steps out for a momentary recognition, to vanish then for ever, we hope, from poetry as well as from history.

With what microscopic fidelity Mr. Motley reproduces these portraits of persons! They have all the nicety of the new photographs of mediæval architecture, which show every mark of the chisel and the weather. The labor must have been great of studying the contemporaneous memorials, and bringing the character together, bit by bit, into its original proportions. He seems to have the Mussulman's reverence for every scrap of written paper, and to anticipate some value from it. Authorities hitherto unheard of, he has found existing in various recesses; and he appears to know exactly where other documents are that can fill in the canvas with a stroke or two. There is something very insinuating about an American when he goes abroad to write a history. He has access to places which all his foreign predecessors had not penetrated. Archives yield up to him their choicest secrets; librarians and every species of official hasten to make a clean breast of it, as if it were the mission of the American to write the Old World histories, as well as to live a better one. There are no prejudices against his search; he was never implicated in their past diplomacy. He does not come as a Spaniard to blab old secrets about

French policy, nor as an Englishman to verify anti-Gallic enmities and suspicions. His fingers are at the bottom of every pigeon-hole in Europe. They let him dive so deep, apparently, because he has come so far.

But opportunity is nothing without the tact of research. Mr. Motley has this in an eminent degree; he has woven every sound 'thread into his book. At first we are disposed to quarrel with the patient minuteness that puts us into possession of the history as it was really lived, almost as it were, a day at a time. We like to be taken up by brilliant generalizations that lump a year or two in a paragraph; they bear us along more swiftly between the great points of interest. Readers of modern books have been made impatient; they prefer to take their history boiled down, from great masses of diplomatic and epistolary material, into an epigram. Mr. Motley soon convinces us that he has no intention of tiring us with trifles, but that he has intercepted those innumerable couriers with despatches because they were carrying to and fro the history of Holland; he bids them deliver all that proved to become intrinsic history, and lets the rest escape. But this is a great merit, and the labor must have been prodigious. The effect is, not only to account for and justify every important circumstance, but to give us a personal interest in it, as though we were the contemporaries slowly living towards it. Thus it has the blood of the country in its veins. We would not give up a single page of these eighteen hundred, though doubtless the story might be crushed into a single volume. That would be like the attempt to have a year's life in an hour at the theatre.

During the administration of Requesens, who was Alva's successor, the famous siege and relief of Leyden occurred. Here we think that Mr. Motley snatches his laurels also in describing the firmness of Orange, the devotion of the people, and the glorious rescue conducted by Admiral Boisot. The dikes had been broken through, and under the pressure of a violent northwest wind the waters of the North Sea came sweeping over the cultivated fields to bear the fleet of the deliverers to Leyden. What despairing and exulting human hearts, what wild pictures of midnight battles, what a spectacle to vessels advancing over a submerged country to attack the in-

trenchments of the besiegers! Not a picturesque or sublime trait has escaped Mr. Motley's pen.

"In the course of twenty-four hours, the fleet at North Aa, instead of nine inches, had more than two feet of water. No time was lost. The Kirk-way, which had been broken through according to the Prince's instructions, was now completely overflowed, and the fleet sailed at midnight, in the midst of the storm and darkness. A few sentinel vessels of the enemy challenged them as they steadily rowed towards Zoeterwoude. The answer was a flash from Boisot's cannon, lighting up the black waste of waters. There was a fierce naval midnight battle; a strange spectacle among the branches of those quiet orchards, and with the chimney-stacks of half-submerged farm-houses rising around the contending vessels. The neighboring village of Zoeterwoude shook with the discharges of the Zealanders' cannon, and the Spaniards assembled in that fortress knew that the rebel admiral was at last afloat and on his course. The enemy's vessels were soon sunk, their crews hurled into the waves. On went the fleet, sweeping over the broad waters which lay between Zoeterwoude and Zwieten. As they approached some shallows, which led into the great mere, the Zealanders dashed into the sea, and with sheer strength shouldered every vessel through."

The Spaniards, seized with a panic, abandoned their redoubts, which might possibly have been held against the fleet, and hastened to escape along the only road that was left.

"Their narrow path was rapidly vanishing in the waves, and hundreds sank beneath the constantly deepening and treacherous flood. The wild Zealanders, too, sprang from their vessels upon the crumbling dike, and drove their retreating foes into the sea. They hurled their harpoons at them, with an accuracy acquired in many a polar chase."

But after all, the strongest redoubt occupied by the besiegers was still directly in their way, and the rest of the day was lost in reconnoitring it. The inhabitants of Leyden could see the vessels which had come so far, under circumstances so unexampled, to bring them bread and safety. The suspense was horrible. The citizens who were still capable of bearing arms resolved to make a sortie in the early morning, and draw the Spaniards away from the side on which the vessels lay.

"Night descended upon the scene, a pitch-dark night, full of anxiety to the Spaniards, to the armada, to Leyden. Strange

sights and sounds occurred at different moments to bewilder the anxious sentinels. A long procession of lights issuing from the fort was seen to flit across the black face of the waters, in the dead of night, and the whole of the city wall, between the Cow-gate and the Tower of Burgundy, fell with a loud crash. The horror-struck citizens thought that the Spaniards were upon them at last; the Spaniards imagined the noise to indicate a desperate sortie of the citizens. Everything was vague and mysterious. Day dawned at length, after the feverish night, and the admiral prepared for the assault. Within the fortress reigned a death-like stillness, which inspired a sickening suspicion. Had the city, indeed, been carried in the night? had the massacre already commenced? had all this labor and audacity been expended in vain? Suddenly a man was descried wading breast-high through the water from Lammen towards the fleet, while at the same time one solitary boy was seen to wave his cap from the summit of the fort. After a moment of doubt, the happy mystery was solved. The Spaniards had fled, panic-struck, during the darkness."

We have no room to transfer to our pages the rest of Mr. Motley's description, including the scene as the well-provisioned fleet rowed into the canals of the city, the thanks to God, and the effect of the news to rouse the drooping spirits of Orange. The eyewitnesses who undertook to chronicle those glorious days have waited till now for their materials to receive flowing life, and to have the landscape thronging with forms of flesh and blood.

Mr. Motley brings his history down to the assassination of the Prince of Orange, and we do not see the actual establishment of the Dutch Republic. The Flemish provinces soon fell away from a league that was never substantial and hearty. The Celts of Flanders continued Catholic, and were compelled to become loyal by the successes of Parma, who was Philip's fifth governor. The Germans of Holland and Zealand united into sovereign and independent states, immediately after the death of Orange. May we not expect that Mr. Motley, stimulated by the great success he has achieved, will apply his fine spirit of research, his love of liberty, and his picturesque pen, to an exhibition of the commonwealth, and give us Barneveldt as he has given Orange? We desire to see more of those Vandyke portraits conjured from their frames, and flushing with

the passions of old days. We should like to know the truth about many an interesting character which has not yet found a humane, liberty-loving, and intelligent delineator. Splendid periods in the history of Holland yet remain undeveloped; great achievements by sea and land are known as facts bare of almost everything except their dates. It is but proper that one who occupies a place in the front rank of American historians should continue the history of Liberty, and show us how she bore the prosperity which she inherited from suffering. On such an undertaking, a pen so clear, so warm, and so humane cannot help finding new lessons for our guidance, as it has already refreshed our faith in the ideas and rights which dark hours have obscured. The History of the Dutch Republic is a great gift to us; but the heart and earnestness that beat through all its pages are greater; for they give us most timely inspiration to vindicate the true ideas of our country, and to compose a noble history of our own.

J. W.

ART. VII.—GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION.*

THERE have been many literal fulfilments of a very remarkable and happy character, as regards historical facts and documents, of the promise that "there is nothing hid that shall not be known." True, there is still a long list of lost treasures, comprehending works in every department of literature, the fate of some of which we know, and of others of which we fear that they have been hopelessly snatched from our use. Fire has been the chief agent in destroying the treasured manuscripts which would have been invaluable to the publishers of this age of countless readers. Many of us may join in the lament of Ben Jonson over the burning of his History of Henry the Fifth, as, in his "Execration on Vul-

* *History of Plymouth Plantation.* By WILLIAM BRADFORD, the second Governor of the Colony. Now first printed from the Original Manuscript. Boston: Published for the Massachusetts Historical Society. 1856. 8vo. pp. xx., 476.

can," he tells us what noble fellow-laborers he had in the composition of his work:—

"Therein was oil, besides the succors spent,
Which noble Carew, Cotton, Selden, sent."

Perhaps, however, our known losses have been compensated by the unexpected discovery, from time to time, of works of whose existence we had no knowledge, and by the occasional restoration of treasures that had long been regarded as destroyed. Past experience has taught us that there are still, and always will be, hidden materials enough in existence to render probable, and even necessary, the rewriting of all important histories at successive intervals short of the term of centuries.

It was well known that the most distinguished of the governors of the old Plymouth Colony, like the honored Winthrop of the Bay, had not only intended, but completed, an historical journal, covering nearly the whole period of the years spent by him on this soil. No more impressive token could be offered of the deeply cherished conviction in the hearts of both these excellent men, that they were engaged in a work for all time,—a work of whose beginnings posterity would gratefully cherish the memorials,—than the fidelity with which they committed to record the incidents of the day of small things. Equally remarkable, too, are the modesty, the humility, and the dignified reserve of both of them, in making their office of annalists of dark or hopeful incidents superior to any personal objects of their own. It is utterly impossible to gather biographical materials concerning themselves from their writings. Indeed, it would be difficult to prove, by any direct evidence unassailable by the modern sceptical tests, that Winthrop and Bradford wrote their respective Histories. When we learn, too, from other sources, that each of them had rivals in their magistracy, and were occasionally subject to hasty and ill-advised reproach, and met with some sharp issues raised by their own independence and fidelity, we may justly pronounce their reserve touching their personal affairs a high and peculiar exhibition of magnanimity. These noble qualities of Winthrop had long been manifest to the readers of our history. The recovery of Bradford's history proves his full title to them.

It is proper that we should give some account of the manner in which this long-lost treasure was brought to the light. Secretary Morton, nephew of Governor Bradford, Governor Hutchinson, our historian, and the Rev. Thomas Prince, of the Old South Church, Boston, our annalist, had used the manuscript of the Plymouth Governor in compiling their respective works. Had Prince been content to take for granted the creation and the flood, and a few more of the remote antiquities of the world, he would have saved himself time for bringing down his own Annals to a period nearer to that of his death, which occurred in 1758, a century after the death of Bradford. The rich materials in print and in precious manuscripts which he had gathered and deposited in the tower of the Old South Church are said to have furnished the means of lighting the fire in the stove, when that edifice was desecrated, by the British soldiery in our Revolution, with a riding-school on its floor and a dram-shop in one of its galleries. A portion of the books which were rescued are in the library of that parish, and the remainder are committed to the keeping of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Prince brought down his digest of our Annals from Bradford, Winthrop, and other sources, to August, 1633. Governor Hutchinson, the second volume of whose History was published in 1767, gives from Bradford's manuscript "A Summary of the Affairs" of Plymouth Colony; and here was the last mention made by any of our writers of a work which we had regarded as destroyed. Besides his History, Governor Bradford left a "Letter Book," which, from the brief portions of it that he had transferred to his History, and from the fragment of it which has been most strangely rescued from a mean use, we may safely say, would have been invaluable to us. This fragment was found in a grocer's shop in Halifax, and occupies some fifty pages in the third volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It may be idle to speculate upon the agencies or the methods of the fate which befell these manuscripts of Bradford. It is pretty certain, however, that that fate turned upon the events of our Revolutionary War, and the only reason — by the way, a very cogent one — for concerning ourselves with the matter is, that we might be led to search after more

such treasures. These manuscripts may have been either in the possession of Governor Hutchinson, when, at the sack of his house in the north end of this city, his papers were scattered by a mob of his indignant townsmen, or they may have been in the tower of the Old South Church. In either case their value might have been known to some Tory, or to some British officer. A Tory would naturally have carried them to Halifax, while an officer of the army would have taken them to London,—the two places having proved to be respectively the localities in which the Letter Book and the History were discovered. We should incline to the opinion, that Hutchinson had both the manuscripts with him at his house in Milton, from which he fled with some of his effects, and the only misgiving we should feel about this supposition would be, that in that case we should have looked to hear of the manuscripts as in the possession of his grandson in England, with the other family papers.

Some portions of Bradford's History, coming down to 1620 only, had been copied into the Plymouth Church Records by Secretary Morton, and had been published, for the most part, as if from his authorship, by Mr. Hazard. The late Rev. Dr. Young incorporated all these extracts by Morton, and added valuable annotations to them, in his "*Chronicles of the Pilgrims*," published in 1841.

We will now make a very interesting quotation from the Editorial Preface of the work before us, that we may fulfil a grateful duty to a gentleman whose zeal and pains and fidelity to his task have justly entitled him to have his name associated with Bradford's History. The editor of the volume, and the writer of the modest but most valuable Preface to it, is Mr. Charles Deane, of Boston, Chairman of the Committee of Publication of the thirty-third volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who hardly knew what a responsible and exacting service would be required of him when appointed to that trust. Mr. Deane says:—

"On the 17th day of February, 1855, the Rev. John S. Barry, who was at that time engaged in writing the first volume of his *History of Massachusetts*, since published, called upon me, and stated that he believed he had made an important dis-

covery; it being no less than Governor Bradford's manuscript History. He then took from his pocket a duodecimo volume, entitled 'A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford. Second edition. London, 1846,'—which a few days before had been lent to him by a friend,—and pointed out certain passages in the text, which any one familiar with them would at once recognize as the language of Bradford, as cited by Morton and Prince; but which the author of the volume, in his foot-notes, referred to a 'MS. History of the Plantation of Plymouth, &c., in the Fulham Library.' There were other passages in the volume, not recognized as having before been printed, which were referred to the same source. I fully concurred with Mr. Barry in the opinion that this Fulham manuscript could be no other than Bradford's History, either the original or a copy,—the whole or a part; and that measures should at once be taken to cause an examination of it to be made."—*Preface*, p. v.

Mr. Deane immediately addressed a letter to his correspondent, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, calling his attention to the extracts and the reference made by the Bishop of Oxford, and asking him to examine the Fulham manuscript, with a view to having it copied if it should prove to be Bradford's. An original letter of Bradford's was enclosed by Mr. Deane, as a test of the handwriting. Mr. Hunter—who, in his "Founders of New Plymouth," in his persevering investigations connected with our early colonists, and in his ready attention to the numerous epistles of inquiry addressed to him from this country, has shown his own zeal in our behalf—was the very best person that could have been applied to on this occasion, and he entered heartily upon the commission. Fulham is a village four miles from Hyde-Park Corner. Its manor has belonged to the see of London for nearly a thousand years, and contains a very valuable library. The Bishop of Oxford, on the application made to him by Mr. Hunter, kindly promised to convey his message and request to the Bishop of London, and the result proved that the Fulham manuscript was the long-lost History by Bradford. At the risk of appearing somewhat ungracious, we will venture the remark, that it would have been quite a handsome thing had the offer of a present

of the manuscript been made to our Historical Society. Seeing that the volume bears on its cover to this day the book-plate of the "New England Library," which library has a legal successor and heir in this good city, and that it was (shall we write the word?) stolen! — beyond all question unlawfully purloined and carried off, — seeing also that it is hardly becoming in a bishop to keep that sort of property, except for safe keeping, that it may be restored to its rightful owners, — we will allow what we have written to stand. But we must acknowledge the courtesy of the Bishop of London in at once putting the volume into the hands of Mr. Hunter, to take home with him and to keep for an unlimited time, that it might be copied for our use. We must also acknowledge our indebtedness to Mr. Hunter for his own hearty and laborious response to the favor asked of him in procuring an accomplished transcriber of the manuscript, in overseeing his work, in collating and verifying the transcript, in obtaining a fac-simile of a page, and in co-operating with Mr. Deane through the whole progress of the transaction. To Mr. Deane we are under larger obligations. He directed that the transcript should be made by a complete imitation of the original, and he has so given it to us, allowing the antiquated record to appear in typography as it came from the pen of the honored Governor. He has also prepared a body of very necessary and useful notes, remarkable alike for conciseness, accuracy, and good taste. Letters from him have crossed the ocean in large number, for the purpose of assuring faultless exactness in the transcript. We may feel quite sure that with Mr. Hunter and Mr. Deane as scrutinizers of every step in the progress of the undertaking, it is submitted to us in a perfectly reliable form. This painstaking devotion has no other reward than that which a true lover of the memories and virtues of good men finds in renewing the memorials of them and of their services. After the copy had been received in this country, Mr. Deane devoted himself to the preparation of the proper notes, and then supervised its publication at the University Press, in Cambridge, where he found willing coadjutors in securing the elegant imprint now before us. The Historical Society passed an especial vote of thanks to the editor for his highly appreciated services.

We are indebted chiefly to Cotton Mather among the ancients, and to the recent researches of Mr. Hunter, for our knowledge of the incidents of Bradford's personal history before he came to this continent. The record of his birth, on March 19, 1589-90, is found on the register of Austerfield, a hamlet in Yorkshire, near Scrooby, the residence of Elder Brewster, and the place where Robinson's Puritan Church was gathered. Bradford, being left an orphan in his early years, received a small inheritance from honest parents, which enabled him to elevate a life apparently destined for husbandry by some attainments in the rudiments of good learning. His earnest mind led him on to some "skill in diverse tongues," and he attained considerable proficiency in after life in French, Latin, and Greek. His residence in Holland made him a master of the Dutch language. Within the covers of the autograph volume, though forming no part of the history, as Mr. Hunter writes to Mr. Deane, there "is a rather long piece, being Hebrew roots with English explanations." There are eight pages of these exercises, including extracts from the Hebrew Scriptures, in the handwriting of Governor Bradford. Prefixed to them is the following note of the good man, which for the touching sweetness of its tone, and the grateful strain of its piety, is a gem of literature. The pen that wrote it must have been dipped in the dew of Mount Hermon.

"Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a longing desire to see, with my owne eyes, something of that most ancient language, and holy tongue, in which the Law and oracles of God were write; and in which God, and angels, spake to the holy patriarchs of old time; and what names were given to things, from the creation. And though I cannot attaine to much herein, yet I am refreshed to have seen some glimpse hereof (as Moyses saw the land of Canan a farr off). My aime and desire is, to see how the words and phrases lye in the holy texte; and to discern somewhat of the same, for my owne contente."—*Preface*, p. xiv.

He imbibed his Puritan sentiments from the ministry of Mr. Richard Clifton, and having received the then despised and obnoxious religion of a godly people, he faithfully cherished it in spite of the wrath of his relatives and the scoffs of his neighbors. He withdrew from

the English communion, and joined that of the outlawed Separatists. His church removed to Holland when he was about eighteen years of age. He was one of those who were arrested by the "chatch poule officers," and imprisoned in Boston, Lincolnshire, on the failure of the first attempt of the persecuted flock to get away into Holland. He was afterwards arrested in Holland as a fugitive from England, but secured his liberty. During the transient sojourn of the church at Amsterdam, he served "a Frenchman at the working of silks." On the removal to Leyden, he converted his little patrimony in England into money, and set up for himself. We find in his history the following record of his election to the chief magistracy of the little wilderness colony soon after its settlement at Plymouth. It was at a dark time in their fortunes, as half of the company were then resting beneath their rude graves, and most of the living were stricken with severe weaknesses and diseases. Governor Carver's government was a short one, extending only from the cabin of the Mayflower on its arrival to the spring of the first year of the settlement. He left no descendants. The date is 1621.

"In this month of *Aprill* whilst they were bussie about their seed, their Gov^r (M^r. John Carver) came out of y^e feild very sick, it being a hott day; he complained greatly of his head, and lay downe, and within a few howers his sences failed, so as he never spake more till he dyed, which was within a few days after. Whoss death was much lamented, and caused great heavines amongst them, as ther was cause. He was buried in y^e best maner they could, with some vollies of shott by all that bore armes; and his wife, being a weak woman, dyed within 5. or 6. weeks after him.

"Shortly after William Bradford was chosen Gove^r in his stead, and being not yet recoverd of his ilnes, in which he had been near y^e point of death, Isaak Allerton was chosen to be an Asistente unto him, who, by renewed election every year, continued sundry years together, which I hear note once for all."
— pp. 100, 101.

Mr. Bradford was annually re-elected to his very responsible office up to his death, May 9, 1657, with the exception of only five years, when slight jealousies and colonial "politics" relieved him.

The man, the magistrate, and the Christian, appears
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to us in his own pages as the historian of other men's doings and experiences, and of what Heaven destined for the beginning of a noble work. He has nothing to say of himself, save as the reader infers his own agency, and notes on every page the occasion for the exercise of great virtues in all who shared the perils and straits of a forlorn enterprise, and the need of especial graces of soul in their trusted chief ruler. Bradford impresses us most deeply and most tenderly, as one of the noblest of men. He was great in his goodness, eminent in his practical wisdom, honorable in his large exercise of magnanimity, forbearance, patience, and gentleness under many exacting trials, and venerable for the calm fervor and constancy of his piety. We take him with the honored Winthrop to our hearts, and enshrine the two in our admiring regard and love. They were much alike in the high qualities of their souls, in native dignity, in spotless purity, in habitual self-control, in generosity, and in the elements and the strength of their Christian faith. They both encountered rivalries and jealousies in their magistracies, and both met them with discretion, meekness, and a spirit wholly forgetful of all private ends, aiming only for the public good. They had both to maintain their own personal rights against envious and disorderly men, but they did so in a passionless and Christian temper which utterly confounded their opponents, and won them such esteem as ever afterwards was to them more than a body-guard, more than all the pomp of courtly ceremonial, as they presided over their rude wilderness courts in the garb of husbandmen. They both have to relate offensive and disgusting particulars, as the deeds of "inordinate and unsavory persons," who found their way through the defences of their Christian commonwealths; but these iniquities are recorded by them in a way which shows that their own pure thoughts were unsullied, and that the monstrousness of foul sin was to them but a new restraint to the sanctity of holy virtue. Both these worshipful Christian magistrates embarked their all of worldly wealth, hope, and prospects, and pledged their confidence in the heavenly inheritance, and spent the years of their mature lives, in the humble toils connected with the first settlement of the most inhospitable regions

of the New World. Neither of them once looked back. Neither of them seems even to have entertained a wish to revisit the land of their birth. There is a sweet fragrance of piety about their memories. They need no apologists for anything they said, wrote, or did. One who should undertake to vindicate them in their policy, their peculiarities, or their consistency, would only prove that he started with some misconception or ignorance on his own part, which would utterly disqualify him as their champion. Bradford and Winthrop saw the good hand of God in the work to which they gave themselves with such singleness and heroism of soul. Let us recognize the same Divine Providence in its instruments. That heart is outside of the influences of any common or peculiar power to move all human sympathies, which can put itself into communion with Bradford and Winthrop through their pages, and not feel the glow of an admiring love, or yield the homage due to rare excellence and lofty piety.

Bradford began to write his History in 1630, ten years after his arrival with the first-comers at Plymouth; the last entry in it made by him was in 1650, seven years before his death. As already intimated, he gathered a mass of letters which he preserved for historical use. Some of these he has incorporated at length, and others by extracts, or in substance, in these pages. He begins by a brief sketch of the introduction and working of Puritan principles in England, when the minds of some sincere and pious persons were learning to exercise that soul-freedom which they had learned from the Bible was alike their gift from God and the root of their accountability to him. What a pregnant sentence was that for earnest and believing men and women to read in the pages of the unsealed, unclasped English Bible, in which the Apostle tells disciples that Christ has made them all "to be KINGS and PRIESTS unto God," thus committing to each disciple the two most august prerogatives of temporal and spiritual dominion, centring in each soul a royal and a priestly sway, making each to be his own monarch and his own sacrificer! Bradford tells us how truths of that depth and compass wrought in souls that felt their power. He sketches the origin of the two Puritan churches in the North of

England, — Mr. Smith's, which was afterwards scattered in the Low Countries, and Mr. Clifton's, which, under the subsequent ministry of the noble Robinson, was the mother of our New England churches. The historian relates, with a subdued pathos, the hard buffetings of the flight into Holland, — the first attempt in which was unsuccessful, and the second of which barely failed of the darkest catastrophe.

Their residence in Amsterdam was brief, being but "about a year." A fear of being involved in the contentions between Smith's church and that of which Johnson and Ainsworth were pastor and teacher, suggested a removal to some other place in Holland. We will make an extract from Bradford, at this point, for the sake of copying his beautiful tribute to Robinson : —

"For these & some other reasons they removed to Leyden, a fair & bewtiful citie, and of a sweete situation, but made more famous by y^e universitie wherwith it is adorned, in which of late had been so many learned men. But wanting that traffike by sea which Amsterdam injoyes, it was not so beneficiall for their outward means of living & estats. But being now hear pitchet they fell to such trades & employments as they best could ; valuing peace & their spirituall comforte above any other riches whatsoever. And at lenght they came to raise a competente & comfortable living, but with hard and continuall labor.

"Being thus selled (after many difficulties) they continued many years in a comfortable condition, injoying much sweete & delightfull societie & spirituall comforte together in y^e wayes of God, under y^e able ministrie, and prudente governmente of M^r. John Robinson, & M^r. William Brewster, who was an assistante unto him in y^e place of an Elder, unto which he was now called & chosen by the church. So as they grew in knowledge & other gifts & graces of y^e spirite of God, & lived together in peace, & love, and holines ; and many came unto them from diverse parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time any differences arose, or offences broak out (as it cannot be, but some time ther will, even amongst y^e best of men) they were ever so mete with, and nipt in y^e head betims, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued ; or els y^e church purged of those that were incurable & incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass. Yea such was y^e mutuall love, & reciprocally respect that this worthy man had to his flocke, and his flocke to him, that it might be said of them as it once was of y^e famousse

Emperour Marcus Aurelious, and y^e people of Rome, that it was hard to judge wheather he delighted more in haveing shuch a people, or they in haveing such a pastor. His love was greate towards them, and his care was all ways bente for their best good, both for soule and body ; for besides his singuler abilities in devine things (wherin he excelled), he was also very able to give directions in civill affaires, and to foresee dangers & inconveniences ; by w^{ch} means he was very helpfull to their outward estats, & so was every way as a commone father unto them. And none did more offend him then those that were close and cleaving to them selves, and retired from y^e commoe good ; as also such as would be stiffe & riged in matters of outward order, and invey against y^e evils of others, and yet be remisse in them selves, and not so carefull to express a vertuous conversation. They in like maner had ever a reverente regard unto him, & had him in precious estimation, as his worth & wisdom did deserve ; and though they esteemed him highly whilst he lived & laboured amongst them, yet much more after his death, when they came to feele y^e wante of his help, and saw (by woefull experience) what a treasure they had lost, to y^e greefe of their harts, and wounding of their sowls ; yea such a loss as they saw could not be repaired ; for it was as hard for them to find such another leader and feeder in all respects, as for y^e Taborits to find another Ziska. And though they did not call themselves orphans, as the other did, after his death, yet they had cause as much to lamente, in another regard, their present condition, and after usage. But to returne ; I know not but it may be spoken to y^e honour of God, & without prejudice to any, that such was y^e true pietie, y^e humble zeale, & fervent love, of this people (whilst they thus lived together) towards God and his waies, and y^e single hartedness & sinceir affection one towards another, that they came as near y^e primitive patterne of y^e first churches, as any other church of these later times have done, according to their ranke & qualitie." — pp. 17 – 19.

The historian then gives us a very particular narration of all the stages and reasons connected with the enterprise of an exile beyond the sea, to plant on this continent. We are let into the councils of those steadfast but prudently deliberate men, who shrunk from no sacrifice, but whose faith included the sage conviction that one way in which God helped men was in blessing their use of all their own resources of forethought, discretion, and calculation. No enterprise ever projected by men would seem to have engaged a more just regard to temporal and spiritual considerations, while the temporal,

though subordinated always to the spiritual, received the attention which barely sufficed to save the bold and venturesome undertaking from absolute failure. In the thoroughly honest and candid rehearsal of all the deliberations, misgivings, and frequent disappointments involved in the preliminary negotiations in Holland and England, and of the discomfitures attendant upon the actual commencement of the voyage, the honored Governor seems to open the very hearts of his associates to our study. So true and single was his own spirit, that he cannot wholly repress severity of judgment in dealing with some who fell away, and his honest rebuke and censure of the few who in England, and afterward here, mingled selfish ends or embittering strifes with the common undertaking, will be acknowledged by his readers to have been richly deserved.

There is a real eloquence on many of the pages which record so quaintly, but so touchingly, the straits and trials of the colonists, when, at the close of their tedious voyage, and actually destitute of the necessities of life, they wore through the first year of their exile. More than once starvation stared them in the face. The terms of their association, through a joint stock furnished by "adventurers," only a part of whom came hither, entailed upon them infinite perplexity. They were soon compelled to discriminate between the labors which were to be "*in perticuler*," and those which were to go into "*the general*." The Governor is led into some searching processes here, followed by some painful disclosures as to characters over whom there was a cloud, the full reason for which was till now unknown to the readers of our history. Mr. Cushman clears up his character, for the most part; but Mr. Isaac Allerton passes into a deep shadow.

These pages will effectually settle all doubts as to the justice of the imputations which have heretofore rested upon the fame of the Rev. John Lyford, the Episcopal intruder, and Mr. John Oldham. The former especially makes a sad figure, as drawn by the honest yet forbearing Governor.

We must indulge ourselves in one more extract, for the sake of transferring to our pages his exquisitely touching and affectionate delineation of Elder Brewster. It is under the date of 1643.

"I am to begin this year whith that which was a mater of great saddnes and mōuring unto them all. About y^e 18. of Aprill dyed their Reve^d Elder, and my dear & loving friend, M^r. William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for y^e Lord Jesus and y^e gospells sake, and had bore his parte in well and woe with this poore persecuted church above 36. years in England, Holand, and in this wildernes, and done y^e Lord & them faithfull service in his place & calling. And notwithstanding y^e many troubls and sorrows he passed throw, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was nere fourscore years of age (if not all out) when he dyed. He had this blessing added by y^e Lord to all y^e rest, to dye in his bed, in peace, amongst y^e mids of his freinds, who mourned & wepte over him, and ministered what help & comfote they could unto him, and he againe recomforted them whilst he could. His sicknes was not long, and till y^e last day therof he did not wholly keepe his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more than halfe a day, & then failed him; and aboute 9. or 10. a clock that eving he dyed, without any pangs at all. A few howers before, he drew his breath shorte, and some few minuts before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man falen into a sound slepe, without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

"I should say something of his life, if to say a litle were not worse then to be silent. But I cannot wholly forbear, though haply more may be done hereafter. After he had attained some learning, viz. y^e knowledg of y^e Latine tongue, & some insight in y^e Greeke, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with y^e seeds of grace and vertue, he went to y^e Courte, and served that religious and godly gentelman, M^r. Davison, diverce years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreete and faithfull as he trusted him above all other that were aboute him, and only employed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecie. He esteemed him rather as a sonne then a servante, and for his wisdom & godlines (in private) he would converse with him more like a freind & familier then a maister. He attended his m^r. when he was sente in ambassage by the Queene into y^e Low-Countries, in y^e Earle of Leicesters time, as for other waigthy affaires of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary townes, and in token & signe therof the keyes of Flushing being delivered to him, in her ma^{tie} name, he kepte them some time, and comitted them to this his servante, who kept them under his pilow, on which he slepte y^e first night. And, at his returne, y^e States honoured him with a Gould chaine, and his maister comitted it to him, and comanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they ridd thorow the country, till they came to y^e Courte. He afterwards remained with

him till his troubles, that he was put from his place aboute y^e death of y^e Queene of Scots ; and some good time after, doeing him manie faithfull offices of servise in y^e time of his troubles. Afterwards he wente and lived in y^e country, in good esteeme amongst his freinds and y^e gentle-men of those parts, espetially the godly & religious. He did much good in y^e countrie wher he lived, in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practiss & example, and provocking and incouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to y^e places therabout, and drawing on of others to assiste & help forward in such a worke ; he him selfe most comonly deepest in y^e charge, & some times above his abillitie. And in this state he continued many years, doeing y^e best good he could, and walking according to y^e light he saw, till y^e Lord reveiled further unto him. And in y^e end, by y^e tirrany of y^e bishops against godly preachers & people, in silencing the one & persecuting y^e other, he and many more of those times begane to looke further into things, and to see into y^e unlawfullnes of their callings, and y^e burthen of many anti-christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast of ; as y^e also did, as in y^e begining of this treatis is to be seene. After they were joyned together in communion, he was a spetiall stay & help unto them. They ordinarily mett at his house on y^e Lords day, (which was a manor of y^e bishops,) and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge. He was y^e cheefe of those that were taken at Boston, and suffered y^e greatest loss ; and of y^e seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to y^e assises. After he came into Holland he suffered much hardship, after he had spent y^e most of his means, having a great charge, and many children ; and, in regard to his former breeding & course of life, not so fitt for many employments as others were, espetially such as were toylesume & laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cherrfullnes and contentation. Towards y^e later parte of those 12. years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well & plentifully ; for he fell into a way (by reason he had y^e Latine tongue) to teach many students, who had a disire to lerne y^e English tongue, to teach them English ; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facilitie ; for he drew rules to lerne it by, after y^e Latine maner ; and many gentlemen, both Danes & Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great mens soñes. He also had means to set up printing, (by y^e help of some freinds,) and so had employmente inough, and by reason of many books which would not be alowed to be printed in England, they might have had more then they could doe. But now removeing into

this countrie, all these things were laid aside againe, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his parte, and to bear his burthen with y^e rest, living many times without bread, or corne, many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunke nothing but water for many years together, yea, till within 5. or 6. years of his death. And yet he lived (by y^e blessing of God) in health till very old age. And besides y^e, he would labour with his hands in y^e feilds as long as he was able; yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Saboth, and y^e both powerfully and profitably, to y^e great contentment of y^e hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministrie. He did more in this behalfe in a year, then many that have their hundreds a year doe in all their lives. For his personall abilities, he was qualified above many; he was wise and discreete and well spoken, having a grave & deliberate utterance, of a very cherfull spirite, very sociable & pleasante amongst his freinds, of an humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, under vallewing him self & his owne abilities, and some time over valewew others; inoffensive and inōcente in his life & conversation, w^{ch} gained him y^e love of those without, as well as those within; yet he would tell them plainly of their faults & evils, both publickly and privatly, but in such a maner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender harted, and compassionate of such as were in miserie, but espetially of such as had been of good estate and ranke, and were fallen unto want & poverty, either for goodnes & religions sake, or by y^e injury & oppression of others; he would say, of all men these deserved to be pitied most. And none did more offend & displease him then such as would hautily and proudly carry & lift up themselves, being rise from nothing, and having little els in them to comend them but a few fine cloaths, or a litle riches more then others. In teaching, he was very moving & stirring of affections, also very plaine & distincte in what he taught; by which means he became y^e more profitable to y^e hearers. He had a singuler good gift in prayer, both publick and private, in ripping up y^e hart & conscience before God, in y^e humble confession of sinne, and begging y^e mercies of God in Christ for y^e pardon of y^e same. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and devide their prears, then be longe & tedious in y^e same (excepte upon sollemne & spetiall occations, as in days of humiliation & y^e like). His reason was, that y^e harte & spirits of all, espetially y^e weake, could hardly continue & stand bente (as it were) so long towards God, as they ought to doe in y^e duty, without flagging and fall-

ing of. For y^e govermente of y^e church, (which was most proper to his office,) he was carfull to preserve good order in y^e same, and to preserve puritie, both in y^e doctrine & comunion of y^e same; and to supress any error or contention that might begin to rise up amongst them; and accordingly God gave good success to his indeavors herein all his days, and he saw y^e fruite of his labours in that behalfe. But I must breake of, having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things."— pp. 408–414.

The good Governor records the merciful providence of God, as exhibited in the longevity of many of the colonists, and evidently regarded the facts which he relates under this head as an equivalent to all the disasters of hardship and mortality which were visited upon the first year of the settlement. He gives us, what we have now for the first time, a perfectly accurate list of the original pilgrims, their families and servants, with brief memorials of some of them. We cannot close these remarks without another expression of our obligations to all who have been concerned in the restoration and publication of this precious work.

G. E. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence (Deceased Divines), containing the Masterpieces of Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, &c., &c., with Discourses from Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Augustine, Athanasius, &c., &c. Also Sixty other Celebrated Sermons, from as many eminent Divines in the Greek and Latin, English, German, Irish, French, Scottish, American, and Welsh Churches, a large number of which have now for the first time been translated. The whole arranged in their proper Order, and accompanied with Historical Sketches of Preaching in the different Countries represented, and Biographical and Critical Notices of the Several Preachers and their Discourses. By Rev. HENRY C. FISH, Author of Premium Essay, "Primitive Piety Revived." New York: M. W. Dodd. 1856. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 613, 616.

LARGE as the title-page may seem even as it stands here, we

have not transcribed the whole of it, for we have been obliged to omit the names of most of the preachers whose sermons are contained in this collection of pulpit discourses. It is a very full compilation; and includes excellent specimens from the more or less famous preachers whose words were with power. On many accounts it is a very attractive and valuable work, and throws much light upon the mystery of preaching. Aside from the sketches of the pulpits of different lands and ages, and the brief notices of the various sermonizers whose discourses are presented to the reader, the sermons themselves form a sort of history of pulpit oratory, showing in the best possible way, that is by actual examples, just what it has been in different ages of the Church, from the times of the Fathers to the present day. Some of the discourses, indeed we may say the most of them, belong as much to all lands and all ages as to the country and time which supplied for them place and date; and this is what we should have looked for, inasmuch as there are staples of Christian preaching, permanent lessons, and ever recurring illustrations of Gospel warning and encouragement. These sermons are so many virtual reiterations of the statement that Christian Truth is but one, and that practically there is such a thing as church unity. On the other hand, there are discourses which are filled with the spirit of their times, earnest discussions of the doctrine or practice that then occupied the thoughts of Christians, and engaged them in controversies sadly bitter and unchristian for the most part. The staple discourses, though from men who were justly reckoned "somewhat," are many of them rather dull reading, proving, we think, partly that sermons should rather be listened to than read, and partly that very fresh impulses, an ever new coming of the Spirit, and hearts open wide to receive the divine grace, are needed to make much discoursing profitable. The unprejudiced reader, who can go behind a great name, will not always find in the discourse all that the preface to it heralds, but only very carefully stated commonplaces of doctrine and morality, which would empty a modern church in a single season, — *season*, we say, for it begins to be necessary to apply this word to the services of the Lord's day as well as to the opera and drama. A much more interesting collection of sermons might of course have been made by selecting from a smaller number of authors. South and Taylor, for example, are rich in material compared with which many of these discourses are exceedingly ordinary; but this would not have answered the purpose of the compilation, — this would not have set forth the varying ministry of the Word. Moreover, if the modern reader finds that even "masterpieces" are sometimes dull, he will be all the more tolerant of the living pulpit, and will not give in to

the fancy, that all good preaching ceased with the Fathers. It would require a very "golden mouth" to create a sensation with the sermon of Chrysostom given us in this volume, were it to be pronounced in our day, and most of the other discourses would be voted very tedious by the hearers who magnify brevity beyond every other feature of a homily. There are not many of these sermons that would leave the worshippers much chance of "going to the post-office" after service, and the whole volume would be a practical refutation of a remark which, as we remember, was hazarded once by an enthusiastic advocate of brevity as the one thing needful, to the effect that all the great preachers of the past confined themselves within the smallest possible limits. South was mentioned as a name in point! One of the ablest of this collection of discourses, to our thinking, is part of a double sermon by Luther on his favorite topic, Justification by Faith; and with our conviction that the great reformer had pushed this doctrine to an objectionable extreme, we were amazed to find how entirely we could go along with him, and how true and valuable his meaning, as unfolded by himself, seemed to us. It comes in his discourse mainly to this, — that in the sight of God it is of infinitely more importance what we are than what we do, — that works are accepted on account of the worker, not the worker on account of works, — that no man can be reckoned good who is not good at heart, and that unless we can believe or trust in One who is able to transform our hearts, and be confident that He has exercised this power, all our doing, ceremonial or moral, will give us no real peace. This discourse of Luther is one of the few which would not fall dead upon the ear of a congregation should it be repeated in our day. It is clear and pithy, and brings out the vital principle in the matter, and commends this principle as neither an abstraction nor a trick, as in no wise arbitrary, but of everlasting and essential validity. We hope that no one will pass over this discourse from any prejudice which may be awakened by the title.

To the preacher who is bound to make a study of his art, this book must be of great value; the more so, perhaps, because it contains little which is likely to discourage a man of average abilities. To the common reader, it will be far more interesting than most volumes of Sermons, because it is a sort of practical Church history, and does virtually exhibit the different phases of Christian faith, whilst it brings to light whatever doctrines are really usable, and commended to us not only by the letter of Scripture, but also by the witness in the heart.

The Suffering Saviour ; or, Meditations on the Last Days of Christ. By FRED. W. KRUMMACHER, D. D., Chaplain to his Majesty the King of Prussia, Author of "Elisha the Tishbite," &c., &c. Translated, under the express Sanction of the Author, by SAMUEL JACKSON. Boston : Gould and Lincoln. 1856. 12mo. pp. 474.

WE hardly know what to write of this book, and perhaps it would be the wiser course not to write anything. It contains so much that is true, simple, tender, and touching, that we shall be sure to recur to its pages again and again, reading, as such a book should be read, a few chapters at a time, and allowing the words to speak to the heart, without much intermeddling of the intellect. Besides being a very careful and minute delineation of the closing scenes of the Saviour's life, — scenes upon which the religious mind dwells with so much interest, — it is a treasury of wise and devout thoughts, suggested to the disciple as he follows the Lord from the time when he announces the crucifixion that must come, to the interment in the tomb of Joseph. Nothing is omitted or slighted which can serve in any degree to bring out the significance of the Saviour's sufferings and death for the redemption of the world. Perhaps there is a little too much expansion of each topic, though indeed in this case each topic is rich in meaning. The three divisions of the work into "The Outer Court," "The Holy Place," and "The Most Holy Place," and the appropriate headings of the chapters, — as, for example, "The Announcement," "The Anointing," "Lord, is it I?" "The Traitor's Kiss," "Peter's Tears," — attract and aid the reader. The writer, moreover, avails himself of his opportunity to press many a moving question upon the infidelity by which he is surrounded, and appeals most effectively to the wants and aspirations of the human heart in argument for the necessity and truth of the Gospel. Thus much we cannot refrain from setting down in the way of commendation.

But there is another side. The theology of the book seems to be of the sort which is passing away, and which would be repudiated, so far as we can discover, by our New England Calvinists. Let the author's expressions touching the end and efficacy of the Saviour's death stand as truth in a mystery, as mystical words, and we can read them without much feeling of disapprobation, though they are pretty strong even at that ; but sift them down, and they are unallowable and painful. Moreover, we have been made sensible (and this has been a very frequent experience with us in reading what so-called Evangelical authors have written upon the atonement) of a hard tone breaking in continually upon the most tender strains, and of an appearance of a deliberate attempt upon the feelings, which is sure, when

recognized, to defeat itself. While, therefore, we like the book on the whole, it has strengthened our conviction that the lessons of the Saviour's sufferings and death are best set forth in chants and hymns,—those melodies of the heart which admit of so much freedom of expression, and do their work without calling in the aid of the understanding, with its logic and its definitions. If Christians could have been content with liturgies, and have refrained from creeds and catechisms, the Church would be more united than it is.

The Tangle-town Letters: being the Reminiscences, Observations, and Opinions of Timotheus Trap, Esq., including a Report of the Great Mammoth Reform Convention. Edited by the Author of "Records of the Bubbleton Parish," &c. Buffalo: Wanzer, McKene, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 300.

A BROAD piece of satire,—so broad indeed that it amounts to a caricature,—devoted to exposing the follies and sins of our modern American society. The satirist, however, is a genial, humane man, in sympathy with some of the philanthropic movements of the day, an earnest lover of freedom, if not an advocate of "Woman's Rights," or disposed to put Christianity and Deism upon the same platform. The book is not without interest, but we must confess that the expectation awakened by the "Records of the Bubbleton Parish" has not been met, as we have turned over its pages.

Colomba. By PROSPER MÉRIMÉE. Translated from the French. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 310.

"CORNICAN" Boswell's book of his experiences during his visit to General Paoli is not, we suppose, much read in these days, and *Colomba* will be especially attractive as affording us a glimpse into the life of the countrymen of the great Napoleon. The year 181— is the date of the story, and we believe that the extraordinary customs of the Corsicans remain what they then were. They are decidedly behind the times, for whilst we who boast of progress are abolishing the gallows, that "mark of civilization," the Corsican has not yet learned the use of this terror to evil-doers, but still takes his revenge in his own way, and resorts to *la vendetta* without judge or jury, betaking himself after this summary process to the *macchie*, the wide wastes covered

with underbrush and almost inaccessible to the gendarmes. In reading of these people one is reminded of the Book of Judges, albeit they are good Catholics. Each man does what is right in the sight of his own eyes, and each woman too, for our heroine, Colomba, is decidedly insane upon the subject of pistols and fusils. The odd contrasts supplied by the juxtaposition of barbarism and civilization add much to the entertainment of the reader. We are satisfied that Corsica must be a very uncomfortable place to live in, but it is pleasant to read about in this attractive little novel. The typography is in the best style of the enterprising and deservedly successful publishers.

Berenice. A Novel. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1856.

It is a tale of woman's trials, a novel in the form of an autobiography, and although not simple enough in its style for our taste, and marred by what seems to us affectation, not to say conceit, is not without merit. Through many passages of her life we have followed Berenice with much interest, especially in her brave struggles to maintain her independence and eat honest bread, and we congratulate her upon her restoration to her beautiful island-home.

Selections from Modern Greek Writers in Prose and Poetry. With Notes, by C. C. FELTON, LL.D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1856. 12mo. pp. 214.

THIS is one of the most valuable books which the indefatigable Professor of Greek at Harvard has given us; valuable not so much as a contribution to the world's literature as for the practical answer which it furnishes to a question that is ever coming up about the utility of classical studies, and the comparative claims of ancient and modern languages upon the young student. One ancient language, at least, turns out to be modern too, spoken with surprisingly slight changes in the east of Europe and the west of Asia, and the learned Hellenist may have been fitting himself to transact business with his mercantile correspondent and agent at Smyrna. We are satisfied that Greek will be studied ere long as a living tongue, and that, passing by the vexed question about the ancient pronunciation of the old language, we shall pronounce now as contemporary Grecians pronounce.

With the aid of some fifty pages of notes, (and these are very largely historical,) more than one hundred and fifty pages of Modern Greek are made intelligible to a proficient in the ancient tongue. We have not yet read the historical and oratorical extracts, and the poems, which make up the text of the volume ; but a glance at the subjects and contents is sufficient to awaken a keen appetite for the perusal. We commend those who are in search of odd combinations to such phrases as "The Low Countries," "Charles the First," and "North America," rendered into Greek by Spyridon Tricoupēs, for some time Ambassador for Greece at the Court of St. James, and author of a History of the Greek Revolution.

The West Church and its Ministers. Fiftieth Anniversary of the Ordination of CHARLES LOWELL, D. D. Boston : Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 12mo. pp. 242.

THE West Church is nowhere in the neighborhood of the setting sun. Its ancient good name shows no sign of declension in our ecclesiastical sky. Its early love and stand for religious liberty are as distinguished at this moment as they were in the beginning. Its short but excellent line of ministers feels an accession of intellectual beauty and strength in the junior pastor, who here does the work of its historian.

We consider this volume one of the most valuable of those with which Mr. Bartol has favored us. Taking its start from the interesting solemnity mentioned at the head of this notice, it goes on to delineate, in three discourses, the characters and services of the three pastors who were the predecessors of Dr. Lowell. In fervid but discriminating words he brings before us brave William Hooper, who found the Boston churches of 1740 too straitened for his ideas of religious liberty ; the noble patriot and liberal thinker, Jonathan Mayhew, who was generally thought by his ministerial brethren too heretical to be safe ; and the amiable but steadfast Simeon Howard, stout for civil freedom and a generous theology, who was neither Trinitarian nor Calvinist, yet so earnest in the ministry of his faith as actually to float off the fragments of his church to the shores of Nova Scotia, when it had been broken up by the English soldiery, and its meeting-house was turned into a barrack.

There follows a discourse on "The Theological and Ecclesiastical Position of the West Church," which will command attention for the breadth of its views, and its wise, calm spirit, to say nothing of that charm of style, which seems to come spon-

taneously, and to invest the thoughts of this writer with full and pictured robes. This church has certainly one peculiarity, — and a very honorable one we think it, — that from its very foundation, one hundred and nineteen years ago, it has never been tainted by the Augustinian tenets, but has always been suspected or disallowed among those who boasted of their orthodoxy. We like it for that. It has always declined wearing any other denominational title than those of Christian and Congregational. We do not dislike it for that. But we may as well frankly confess, that we never had much sympathy with that zealous protestation against being called anything, in which some have taken pride to indulge. Perhaps the most manful way is neither to parade a name, nor to resent it. If we do not believe certain doctrines, we must believe what is the reverse of them, if we believe anything; and every preacher who preaches at all, must preach according to some ideas of truth and duty established in his mind. Let people give us what sectional names they choose. They will soon find out the right ones; and they are not likely from the first to be very far out of the way. A satire upon lawsuits, that was familiar to our childish days, has a passage which it may not be thought below dignity to repeat in this connection: "Now," said a droll barrister, "if this bull was of any color, he must have been of some color; and if he was of no color, of what color could this bull possibly be?" We do not mean that Mr. Bartol presses any point of this kind with undue zeal, or into any extravagances. He only goes for a free theology; and so do we. He only resists sectarian limitations; and we are with him on the farthest line of his protest. We cannot forbear quoting a period or two from this part of his book.

"Those who once thought the earth itself had a material basis, or that the crystal cope rested upon a boundless plain, might have trembled with terror at a sudden revelation to them of the round world swinging loose, and apparently unsupported, in the unpillared, measureless firmament. Yet further knowledge would persuade them that the gravitation of the boundless heavens is a support for this planetary dwelling stronger and more secure than any foundations below or columns above. So we can dispense with deriving from earthly standards the tendencies of our belief, and with ordering, at any human word of command, the motions of our reason and conscience which we keep spiritually connected with the inspiring Mind that made us, and humbly subject to the everlasting law of God."

The volume thus miscellaneously brought together, and abounding in details that must make it peculiarly precious to the religious society to whom it is devoted, has also no small historic importance, and an interest for our community at large.

Vassall Morton. A Novel. By FRANCIS PARKMAN, Author of "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," and "Prairie and Rocky-Mountain Life." Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 414.

THERE is quality in this. It springs from a vigorous and natural soil. It is honorably distinguished from most American novels, by its hearty manhood, its simple and honest strength. It draws its characters with discrimination, lets loose its dialogue with a ready freedom that yet never talks too much, and relates its incidents with admirable spirit. It never lags, is nowhere tedious, but presses to its purpose without halt or bend or any book-making inflations. Its perspicuous conciseness is one of its most striking characteristics. Its pages are broken up into no fewer than seventy-four chapters, each bearing its significant motto, each with its own completeness, and each advancing the general plan. It refrains from all superfluous words, though the practised ease of the writer shows that he has treasures of them in store. We note that what may be called the critical and reflective parts of the book, such as evidently portray the judgments and disposition of its author's mind, bear a wise proportion to the more stirring events of the narrative, and leave upon the mind of the reader a decided impression of respect.

Mr. Parkman has prepared himself for the work of a man of letters, which he seems determined to make real work, by a fine education earnestly followed up, by an eager acquaintance with nature and the more unwonted aspects of life, as well as with books and routine, and by hardy habits both of thought and outward activity. The stamp of this training is set upon all his works, which are never languid, timid, conventional, or commonplace. There is no affectation about them. He is bold, but his good taste keeps him from offensiveness and extravagance. His subjects, like his heart, are all American; and, without copying or imitation of any one else, he spreads them out with a venturesome but well-studied hand. His first considerable literary enterprise was "The Oregon Trail," of which the scenes were painted from his personal experience. "The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac" followed; and whether we consider its diligent research or the spirited beauty of its style, we know of nothing in this kind of composition that has been done among our countrymen which deserves to be placed before it.

This story may seem to be but a diversion from more serious studies. Happy is he who can so recommend himself, and so interest and entertain others, by his recreations. The main action of the piece is carried on in places most familiar to us. New York and Boston and dear old Cambridge interchange on

its broad stage with the Alps, the Lake of Como, and the fortresses of Austrian despotism. We hear the peculiar talk of our own streets and country folks, together with slight sounds of the languages across the sea, but none of them to excess, as the bad custom of most writers both at home and abroad now is. There is but a touch and a hint, and enough is suggested. The volume, though soon read, comprises great variety, and ministers to many kinds of emotion. It has strokes of genial humor and of deepest passion, tones of the most ordinary life and the tramp of romantic adventure. The life that is in each different part is animated by a vivid temperament, and controlled by an overruling good sense; so that there is neither sentimentalism nor rant; what is most affecting is not strained too hard, and what is the most common is redeemed from being flat.

With these opinions, we commend the book to the public for a wholesome book, as well as a most engaging one. It will stir the feelings without turning them astray, without endangering the judgment or softening the will. No one's leisure will be wasted over pages that have so much culture and so much purpose in them. And we ought to add, in speaking of such qualities, that Mr. Parkman has gone on writing under circumstances that would have utterly deterred a less impulsive talent or a less brave resolution. His eyes have long suffered from some chronic malady; and the eyes would seem almost indispensable to the highest success of literary researches, were it not for the example to the contrary with which another of our townsmen has managed to charm the whole studious world. The fact would not be mentioned in this new instance of perseverance, were it not that difficulties enhance the merit of whatever is well performed in spite of them; and were it not also for the courageous lesson which they read to the rest of mankind.

The Poetical Works of ALFRED TENNYSON, Poet Laureate, etc.
Complete in one volume. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.
1856. 16mo. pp. 518.

A REAL pocket edition of Tennyson, printed with good, plain type, upon fair paper, and in very tasteful binding, must be admitted to be the very *vade mecum* of all others for our summer rambles, and our sojournings on the hill-sides and by the way of the sea. We should have said that Tennyson could not be compressed into so small space without crowding, but we find everything, including that sweetest, saddest of modern poems, the "*In Memoriam*." The publishers as well as the poet will be gratefully remembered under many a green tree and great rock, whilst Sirius has most things his own mad way.

The Piazza Tales. By HERMAN MELVILLE, Author of "Typee," "Omoo," &c., &c. New York: Dix and Edwards. 1856. 12mo. pp. 431.

MR. MELVILLE having introduced us, in the first score or more of pages, to the piazza of his residence, amongst the hills of our glorious Berkshire, and having awakened in the reader a deep longing to gaze with him upon the sublime and lovely scenery which his words paint so well, or to roam with him to the lonely hut of the coal-burner and his sister on the mountain-side, strikes out into the great city of our Union, and over the seas, and reels off five yarns of narrative which will accomplish all they aim at, namely, the amusement of his readers, — an object for which, as well as for everything else, there is a time.

The Spanish Conquest in America, and its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of Colonies. By ARTHUR HELPS. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1856. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 960.

THE praise which this work has received in the English journals and reviews has led to its republication in the United States as a standard work. If its sale here is measured by its attractiveness, it will not be very large. It is a diffuse and tedious narrative, — so tedious that its merits are hardly worth the trouble of the discovery. The pictures of scenery are faint and hazy, the portraits of men are never striking, and the whole story goes as languidly on as a party of pleasure in a Turkish *café*. The material is abundant, the arrangement judicious, the design amiable, but the execution seems to us very feeble. Mr. Helps has a quiet sort of humor, and says occasionally a good thing by the way, but seems to be wanting in energy of thought, as he certainly is in energy of style. To compare his volumes with those of Prescott and Irving, is simply absurd. We might as well compare Bartlett's History of the United States with Bancroft, or the Penny Magazine with Hume and Macaulay. The ostensible purpose of Mr. Helps is to show how the Spaniards planted slavery in America. But he leaves no definite impression about slavery and the slave-trade. He states that he has been "*singularly fortunate* in the number of friends who have taken an almost paternal interest in the book, and who have aided me by advice, criticism, research, and co-operation." It is to be regretted that these friends were not able to impart more vigor to the style, more unity to the treatment, more of the qualities which make a book readable.

The very numerous maps which are scattered along the pages would be an important aid in a well-written work on this subject. But here they are of very little use, and seem provokingly intrusive. They only help to break up a narrative already broken by digressions, retrospections, and allusions to something to come. Mr. Helps is one of those writers who seem never to finish as they intended what they begin to say, who are beguiled away from their main path by tempting side reflections, and leave their readers in the end unsatisfied and bewildered, laughing, perhaps, at some odd observation, but quite uncertain where they left the theme in hand. The industry, the fairness, and the comprehensiveness of his research in preparing his work deserve all praise. It is a pity that the other qualities of an historian were not joined to these. The work must be classed with those numerous historical treatises of which the chief merit is the labor of their compilation and their excellent intention. It is worth relatively about as much as Menzel's History of German Literature.

Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of THOMAS MOORE.

Edited by the Right Hon. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P. Vols. VII. and VIII. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 378, 376.

THE Ex-Premier here completes his labor of love as executor and friend in presenting the Memorials of Moore. We suppose the work has been done as well as it could have been done, and we are sure that it has been done in full conformity with the deserts of its subject. We have now eight volumes of a very miscellaneous character, all more or less interesting, and some of it quite so, covering the whole literary and social life of the poet. Lord John has been the butt of critics all through his extended task; but he appears to have cared little for their spite, and less for their suggestions. He has done his work in his own way, and deserves the credit of a kind intent and of a patient labor in a not altogether inviting undertaking. The materials now in full before us suggest an article on Moore which we may hope to furnish garnished with some of the better flavored extracts from these eight attractive volumes. In the mean while, as we have recently had something to say about Coleridge which his admirers have visited with what they intended as a rebuke, we will here offer them a nut for the cracking.

Mr. Moore speaks, on the seventh and eighth pages of the seventh volume of his "Memoirs," of a conversation with Coleridge, in which he shows no great liking, and indeed a very

manifest mistrust, of that famous *proncur*. He says: "He is employed, it seems, in writing on Daniel and the Revelations; and his notions on the subject, as far as they were at all intelligible, appeared to be a strange mixture of rationalism and mysticism. Thus, with the rationalists, he pronounced the gift of tongues to have been nothing more than scholarship, or a knowledge of different languages; said that this was the opinion of Erasmus, as may be deduced from his referring to Plato's *Timæus* on the subject. (Must see to this.)"

Now, when he came to *see to it*, he unquestionably saw that there was not a word of truth in anything he had been listening to. It was all pretension. He would discover this "opinion of Erasmus" when he discovered that "writing on Daniel and the Apocalypse,"—and also the reference to "Plato's *Timæus*" at the same time. Indeed, if Plato could have written anything touching an event that took place nearly four hundred years after he was dead, he must have been even a more "divine" man than his most worshipful admirers have ever supposed him to be. We are inclined to think, that if any one, reversing the better method of induction, should set out with the hypothesis that Mr. Coleridge was one of the most remarkable charlatans in British letters and philosophy, he would find a great variety of facts in singular agreement with such a theory.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE press continues to pour forth a stream of publications of which we must take note, not merely according to their value, but also as we have time to examine them. Of some of the works whose titles we proceed to give, we must hope by and by to offer a more adequate notice.

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have already published the "second thousand" of Professor Huntington's volume of "Sermons for the People." These fervent and earnest discourses invite and reward perusal, because of the fresh vigor and glowing heartiness of conviction and purpose which are their marked characteristics. In some points they are open to criticism, which, however, we would not offer hastily. There is now-a-days so much tame and aimless preaching, which, of course, is ineffective, as it ought to be, that we would not abate our high and grateful appreciation of any discourses which quicken the Christian life in cold hearts, by objecting to some phrases, sentences, or even shapings of thought on great doctrinal points, that may not accord with our own taste or convictions.

The American Unitarian Association is zealously pursuing its wisely arranged plan of publishing and circulating several series of volumes adapted to the exposition and vindication of a pure Christianity, and to the great objects of Christian growth in character and life. Its last publication is a new edition of Mr. Norton's Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians concerning the Nature of God and the Person of Christ. This edition contains some additions and corrections which the author left in an interleaved copy of the work, besides some valuable Notes by the scholarly editor, Ezra Abbot, Jr., and the biographical notice of Mr. Norton which appeared in our own pages in 1853. This work of Mr. Norton's has been depreciated and disesteemed, as well as misrepresented, by some professed critics, who have found it easier to deal with it in that manner than to answer its argument. In some minor points his positions may be fairly disputed, but we are firmly persuaded that in his leading assertions, and in the strong and thoroughly reasoned grounds by which they are supported, the work has not been answered, and cannot be invalidated.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. continue their highly popular series of the British Poets, and of the British Essayists, in the same size and form, and find in their wide circulation an adequate motive for carrying on the enterprise to the promised completion. Three volumes, containing *The Rambler*, make the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth of the series of the Essayists, and the Poems of Shakespeare, in one volume, and those of Robert Herrick, in two volumes, extend the series of the Poets.

Messrs. Gould and Lincoln publish, in a translation from the German of Biernatzki by Mrs. George P. Marsh, a tale of humble life on the coast of Schleswig, under the title of "*The Hallig, or the Sheepfold in the Waters.*" The physical circumstances and the social usages of the life portrayed in the volume give it a charm to jaded readers. The interest of the story is strong and natural, but its theology, in the main true, in some points questionable, is designed by the author to convey its great moral.

Messrs. Ticknor and Fields have published in a neat form Lectures by the late Professor E. T. Channing, read in the course of his duty before successive Senior Classes at Harvard for a long series of years. R. H. Dana, Jr. offers us, in his editorial capacity, an excellent and grateful Biographical Notice of the Professor. We hope that as many more classes of students will improve the opportunity put within their reach by these Lectures, of receiving the mature wisdom of this master of a chaste English style.

The same publishers have issued a new edition of Allston's beautiful Italian tale of "*Monaldi.*"

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have published a new Memoir of the Character and Labors of that devoted Missionary, Adoniram Judson, by Mrs. H. C. Conant. The first and very appropriate title of the volume is "*The Earnest Man.*" Dr. Wayland's Memoir of Judson, of which we spoke in high commendation, and extracts from which we transferred to our pages, has found a very extensive circulation, and the readers of it have craved still another memorial of a faithful Christian laborer. Mrs. Conant's book is worthy of its subject.

The same publishers have issued "The New Age, or the Life and Adventures of Robert Dexter Romaine, written by himself." The reader must peruse this charming volume in the full faith that it is a veritable record of actual, personal experiences, and he will find it delightful occupation for summer hours.

In a volume published by Redfield, New York, Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck has made the best possible use of all the publications by and about the late Rev. Sydney Smith. He has extracted the "Wit and Wisdom" of that humorous divine's Sermons, Essays, Review Articles, Letters, and Table-Talk, and given us a Memoir and Notes of his own. The plan was a most judicious one, and it has been most felicitously executed.

"The Daisy Chain, or Aspirations," is the title of a new story, in two volumes, by the author of "The Heir of Redclyffe," published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. The well-deserved popularity of the author in many circles of readers not always interested in the same class of books, will attract them as it does ourselves to this work, with pleasing anticipations of interest and profit from its perusal.

The same publishers have reprinted, from the third London edition, a volume on the Rise and Progress of the English Constitution, by E. S. Creasy. The book is full of instruction presented in a condensed form, and perfectly reliable upon that unwritten but actual basis of government, the English Constitution, which lives not by *Articles*, but by *Principles*.

"The Philosophy of the Weather, and a Guide to its Changes," is the title of another work issued by the same firm, from the pen of Mr. T. B. Butler. This volume is highly instructive, and contains a vast deal of information upon a topic which concerns us all. The author does not pretend to be wise beyond the bounds of common sense and science, but he is wise within them, and so can afford to dispense with the sciolism and quackery of prophetic claims, and confine himself within his own bounds of fair induction.

Messrs. Derby and Jackson, of New York, publish "The Adventures of Gerard, the Lion-Killer; comprising a History of his Ten Years' Campaign among the Wild Animals of Northern Africa. Translated from the French by Charles E. Whitehead,"—a book of wild life for man as well as beasts, and wonderfully illustrating some of the traits common to both those classes of the creatures of God.

The same firm issue "Gabriel Vane, his Fortune and his Friends, by Jeremy Loud,"—a pleasantly written tale, suited to a milder taste in readers.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Co., of New York, have undertaken to publish, under the general title of "The Modern Story-Teller, or The Best Stories of the Best Authors," a series of volumes whose contents shall answer to that description. The design is a happy one, and is admirably carried out in the first volume, which is now before us. The editor, following the popular testimony, which is distinct and accordant enough to guide a judicious and independent mind, has made an excellent selection with which to inaugurate his undertaking.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

SEPTEMBER, 1856.

ART. I.—THE WRITTEN WORD AND THE CHRISTIAN
CONSCIOUSNESS.

[An Address delivered before the Ministerial Conference in Bedford Street
Chapel, May 28, 1856. By REV. OLIVER STEARNS.]

It is an interesting thought, which has a direct bearing on our duties and studies, as Christian ministers, that there is a continued reciprocal influence of the Written Word and the Christian Consciousness. The interpretation of the written word is variable. It depends in part on grammar and lexicon; and the mind may be imperfectly trained or furnished; therefore the intellectual perception is not infallible. It depends more on the moral affinity and spiritual position of the interpreter; therefore the spiritual perception is not infallible. Thus the interpretation of the written word must be modified by the student's growth in information and in the spiritual life. Interpretation deduces doctrine or opinion from the sacred history; faith puts it to practical test in life and the world; experiment shows wherein is its power or its defect, its truth or its error, and leads to a re-interpretation of the letter, and a remoulding by thought, in new forms, of the subject-matter of faith. There is no termination to this process but with the cessation of mental and moral activity.

What occurs to the individual student and believer may be represented, for the purposes of the scholar, as taking place in the experience of the Christian body in the ages and realms of Christendom, regarded as one student mind and one believing heart; only in the case of the general Christian mind we must give more prominence to history, both secular and Christian, as an element of the experimental test. Providence has never deserted the Christian brain and heart. In despite of their most erratic working, God has, through their operation, been leading the advanced portion of humanity to more just apprehensions of his character and will. The divine instruction of the human family did not close with Christ's last earthly words, nor when the lips of Apostles were stilled in death, or the last Evangelist laid down his pen. The Spirit, which dwelt in Jesus and spoke by him as Christ, has been always with the Church, teaching it out of his words. Providence teaches it by events. The Truth comes to it through the thought and experience of disciples of every generation. Thus life reacts through thought upon the interpretation of the sacred history, and occasions a remoulding of doctrine. Doctrine modified returns to the crucial test of lives and minds ever new. Through all, God is with the Christian mind, never leaving it for a generation, never for a thought. And there is no termination to this process of divine instruction, save with the life of Christianity upon the earth, that is, with the earthly life of the human race; perhaps it may be said, no termination save with the life of God in immortal souls.

It is this *reciprocal action of the interpretation of the written word* and what, for the want of any better single term, I shall call *the Christian consciousness*, which I propose to illustrate. I hope, also, to indicate, incidentally, some bearings of the fact on the questions and duties which engage us. And we find illustration of the fact within the first quarter of a century after the crucifixion. Nay, such illustration forces itself upon us at the very time of the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, before the word by the Messiah was written. The mighty efflux of God's power through these events, fused, in part, the hard Jewish mind of the eleven and their sympathizers, and left their faith free to run into

somewhat modified forms. Scarcely had the grave-clothes fallen from the risen Saviour, when the Comforter began to come; and if he had not ascended, the Apostles would not have preached Jesus risen, the Christ to come again from heaven. They preached this, with some misconception, but in it a truth which electrified the world, and whose reverberation we feel in the spiritual atmosphere of this morning. We may question and cavil about the outward circumstances of those events; but it was precisely through the outward that the divine power acted on the consciousness of those chosen witnesses, and began to clear away the mist of pre-judgment from their apprehension of the words of Jesus. And the record of their changed thought and feeling is bound up, not in one narrative merely, but by the philosophical relation of effect to cause, with the record of the resurrection and ascension,—a relation which no criticism of man can unfix, any more than the guesses of a child can loosen the similar connection between the fossil forms dug from the bowels of the earth, and the life which breathed on its surface at the period indicated by the disinterred strata. In each case God has made a connection which man may not put asunder.

No sooner had the re-illuminated faith of the Apostles, put forth in preaching the restitution of all things, begun to show its legitimate effect, and the energy of the Spirit going forth in so much of the truth as it comprehended, than the watchful Providence disclosed the obstacle which, in the form of erroneous interpretation, lay in the path of its triumph. This disclosure was made in phenomena which threatened the utter disruption of the newly formed body. The question arose whether the new dispensation should be continued within Judaism by the conquest of Judaism slightly modified over the world, or whether the peculiarity should be abolished to give free course to a spiritual faith. It was a vital question. How it could be one at all, may surprise us now; yet less than it would if Christian sects, even at our advanced period, had ceased from Judaizing. The Master, indeed, had spoken of his coming to fulfil the Law. Not a tittle of it should fail of accomplishment. He told his disciples to do what was taught by the scribes, but to do it better. Yet he sometimes seemed to correct Moses

himself. He declared himself greater than the temple. And in one act, construed by the by-standers into evidence that he was eaten up by zeal for the temple, a quick sympathy with him who spoke to the Samaritan woman of worship to be offered, not on Gerizim or Moriah, but wherever man might be, will see that he intimated, that it was time for the cumbersome ritual, which mixed traffic with worship, to cease,—to yield to the sublime emotion which might be felt by the pilgrim, of any nation, as he entered that solemn temple, with its vast untenanted spaces, and which, however awakened and wherever ascending, was the soul's true holocaust to the Divine Majesty. But the Twelve could not see the significance of some of the greatest actions of their Master. They kept the ritual. The foreign element, however, in the Church, increased by the pentecostal conversion, was ripe for a new rendering of the Messiah's word. The Hellenist Stephen fell a martyr to a wider vision of Christian truth, his face as the face of an angel irradiated with the foreshining of that glory of the crucified Lord which was already gleaming over the partition-walls of Zion upon the mind of the world beyond. Holding the clothes of those who stoned the first martyr, was that fiery youth of gigantic energy, destined to be the Holy Spirit's special instrument in this emancipation, more deeply touched than men knew by what he heard and saw, kicking already against the pricks, and ripening for those events in which Christ called him to be his missionary to the Gentiles; who in fulfilling this mission took a position by himself, waged the battle of controversy for freedom, and in the heat of his contest pressed the Gospel into those forms of truth which have held fast the human mind, yet announced, under the terms grace and faith in opposition to law and works, with such an excess of strength as gave rise afterward to Antinomian perils, and has ever called for careful explanation, if we may not say qualification. The universality and freedom of the Gospel are now grown into the consciousness of Christendom. But it required bitter conflict, martyrdom, miracle, and vision, to get this truth into its place in the consciousness of the infant Church. Before the tough shell of Judaism would crack and open for the expansion of the Christian germ, and

said to be traceable to his personal history, — to his strong passions, and great struggle with them in his conversion, as well as to the tendency of his age to exaggerate the supernatural. His spiritual experience was not a normal one, it is said. Now no man's Christian experience is exactly the measure of another's. But does not God make use of peculiar persons and of peculiar ages to bring forth into human consciousness particular truths? And was it Augustine's intellectual force alone which infixed his dogma in Christian belief? Intellect alone cannot permanently reconcile masses of earnest men to sheer falsities. God is mightier than godlike intellect. The truth held in his dogma has given it a firm grasp in Christian belief, in spite of extreme error incorporated with it. But that error, shocking the common sense of the world and the Christian consciousness of multitudes, has produced reaction, and resulted in modifying the interpretation of the written word. Augustine, like so many theorists, and some in the opposite direction, did not keep close enough to objective facts, but mixed with them egregious assumptions to account for what the human mind is incompetent to explain. Truths and facts are forced upon us by nature and Scripture, which we can apprehend for practical purposes, but of which we cannot unfold the logical relations to the whole of being.

Human nature, and not merely human life, needs the corrective influence of Christ. The origin of sin goes back of the will into the complex nature, by which man is at once body and soul. Volition makes personal guilt; but sin comes out of nature. The original elements of human nature are good. These elements are unchanged in all generations. Here we protest against the error of Augustine, continued to our time, and recently brought out afresh in some very able and interesting lectures* by the Professor of History at Andover, that, in consequence of Adam's sin, the germ of good is crowded out and displaced by a germ of evil, so that the divine germ must be literally replaced in order to any development of good. Man's nature never becomes

* Lectures upon the Philosophy of History, by William G. T. Shedd, Lecture II.

wholly evil. If so, human society could not subsist. But while the original, normal human nature is good, while its original germs are never destroyed, the actual, concrete, spontaneous human nature is not perfectly right. Evil becomes in it a powerful germ; and much of human history is the history of its development. Without postulating any such notion as that all pain and decay are a retribution for imputed sin, or are always retribution in any sense to individuals, — that they are nothing but the heap of penal disaster which ages of sinful ancestry have rolled down upon us, — we may admit that moral disorder becomes, in a degree, generic, and partly seizes and occupies the organism of man. All souls are created children of God. But all souls also proceed by generation, from ancestors in whom sin has reacted upon nature. The tendency of man, except where counteracted by the conservative and redeeming power of truth divinely given, is to moral deterioration. The tendency may be resisted in certain cases, and for a time. But it exists; and it may accumulate in its progress.

St. Paul found, in the philosophy of his day, the conception of a double nature, of two men forming each composite man; and he used it to convey his apprehension of the relation of the Gospel to the subject of its influence. It supposes a natural man, or *psychical* man, (if we may coin a word from the Greek term used by Paul, which our English word "natural" does not translate,) or man as a soul in relations with nature and with the outward world, an animal soul with that part of the intelligence suited to its life, and a spiritual man in relations with God and other spirits, and with so much of the intelligence as is adapted to perceive these relations. We may still use this conception for unfolding Christian thought. And we must not be misled by the apparent exceptions to the tendency of the natural man to overlay and overmaster the spiritual. Where a powerful intellectual and æsthetic development has existed, as in Greece, it may have modified this tendency, or it may soften the horror of moral evil in the picture of human life. But intellectual life alone is not the normal life of man. The bare knowledge of the powers and properties of the kingdoms of nature and mind, and of their adap-

tation to selfish ends, is compatible with the life of evil spirits. The conception of Satan is that of gigantic intellect, possessed of the secrets of nature and man, but fallen from fidelity to God, moved by overmastering passion, and perverting the qualities of things and the powers of souls wholly to purposes opposite to the Creator's intent. This is, indeed, the extreme. Man has never reached it. But where the intellectual development, with a certain speculative moral development, has been most brilliant, without supernatural aid, we see at once, by comparing it with Christ, how wide it has gone of man's normal life; and how, as in Plato's Republic, the wisest and purest, befogged in the general darkness, have authorized forms of life at which the most imperfectly educated Christian revolts with loathing. Where this *psychical* man rules, there is death. Where the spiritual man rules, there is life. The natural man is first unfolded. Nature fosters him. The law of descent propagates him. This may be the fact which the thinkers who have taught native depravity, from Augustine to the Westminster divines, have sought to bring into bold relief. In doing this, they thrust into the shade the spiritual man, which really is just as natural. But so far as they mean the existing strength of this "natural" man of St. Paul in the human race, they stand on indisputable objective fact.* It is no superficial or trifling evil. It is deep and deadly. And when man is convinced of it in himself, and looks up to the holiness of God, beckoning him to come up to it, and is surprised and kept down by the sin so easily besetting him, he must be conscious of weakness, of inability to raise himself; not of inability to do anything good, but inability

* The elder Henry Ware, a scrupulous and cautious theologian, — one who kept close to the facts of nature and life, who was not given to vain speculation, — admits, if I rightly understand him, the fact of hereditary tendency to disorder. After saying that all man's passions, appetites, and affections are necessary to his perfection and happiness, he proceeds thus, in stating man's liability to corruption: "Each of them also possesses a degree of strength beyond what was necessary to answer its own direct purposes, and thus answers the purpose of moral discipline. Besides this, disorder has been introduced, by which there is an increased tendency to further disorder. The just balance of the soul is thus disturbed. The restraining power is weakened, absolutely and relatively, by a variety of causes, — by hereditary disorders of the system, by infirmity of the physical constitution, by circumstances of increased temptation, by bad example." (*Inquiry concerning Religion*, Vol. II. p. 196.)

to attain, alone, to the freedom and life he longs for. He wants an objective life, which through faith and love shall become subjective. And he has what he wants. His "life is hid with Christ in God."

The reaction of the Christian consciousness upon the interpretation of the written word has been very manifest in regard to the redemptive work of Christ. A few remarks, on this subject, of some of our most recent polemics, fall within the path of my principal thought. The necessity of the Mediator's suffering had always been felt and admitted; for Christian experience generates the sense of that necessity wherever the Gospel does its work. In the eleventh century, Anselm sought to demonstrate the rational grounds of this necessity; and his speculation has contributed much to give form to the modern doctrine of Atonement. According to Anselm, the God-man, by perfect obedience, and by undergoing the penalty of death which he did not deserve, made satisfaction to the honor of God for man's want of obedience, and gave the believer a claim to blessedness. Modern creeds are chiefly variations of this statement. It has been developed with consequences and accessories which have made Faith stagger; and yet Faith has patiently borne the load for the sake of the strength infused into her frame from the truth latent in her burden. It challenged the philosophical acumen of Butler, who sought analogies for it from nature and life; but, as seldom happened to Butler, the analogies would not fit the supposed truth. About twenty years since, a living author, in one of the most successful of a series of popular illustrations of Christian truth, "The Corner-Stone," tried to do what Butler had essayed as a graver task. Many of his illustrations beautifully analogized Christ's suffering for sin; but, instead of verifying the doctrine of substituted punishment, illustrated a view which, the author said, did not go far enough. The quick sense of justice generated by Christ himself revolts at the thought of a sinless being undergoing a penalty, that those who merited it might be exempt. That is not "being just, and the justifier of him who lives from faith." The sense of God's perfection which Jesus has brought from the Father's bosom may shrink from the statement, that, "without his death, God could not for-

give even the penitent and loyal." The ground-fact, the first truth, of Christian consciousness is, that God must feel towards all spirits according to what they are. A soul penitent and loyal may still suffer from the consequences of sin; but God forgives it. It is willing to bear penal suffering for the sins for which Christ bore so much remedial suffering. But now, if, to satisfy the Christian consciousness on this side, we pass over to the statement that Christ died only to seal the divine promise of forgiveness with his blood, the Christian consciousness has not accepted this as exhaustive of the sense of the eucharistic words, and, I think, never will. Faith misses a part of what makes its life. It misses something deposited in that old doctrine of Anselm, something which is veritably in Christ, something held in Anselm's terms, "the honor of God." Only we must not conceive of it after the ideas of miscalled honor among men. Christian truth has ever been obliged to cleanse the terms which the poverty of language compels it to impress into its service. Christ's death, instead of being only the proof of his sincerity, is, in connection with his character and life, the means of generating in the spiritual nature a knowledge of what the new covenant of forgiveness is, by a peculiar deepening of the sense of sin and of holiness. Thus it is atonement, strictly analogous to the atonements of the old dispensation; only in its spiritual effect it goes deeper. To produce this effect, it was necessary in the Divine optimism. For the deepest peace, the soul wants the interests of holiness asserted in the very expression of God's mercy. The Divine optimism meets this want of the soul in the very method taken to bring men into the covenant of faith. Christ gives up his sacred life to turn back the tide of evil. Hanging on the cross there in the middle of the ages, he doth, in fact, magnify the law. He doth make holiness more sacred, mercy more dear, penitence more trustful, and loyalty more devoted. He bears the cost of reclamation. The worth of righteousness is asserted to the conscience, as well as mercy to the heart. Christ's death, with its concomitants, brings down into man, out of God, what Paul calls God's righteousness, which begets its antitype in the believer, so that he honors God. His sense of Divine justice and

his consciousness of reconciliation reciprocally strengthen each other. God is felt to be most just, when he is most the justifier and approver of his child. But man does not all this for himself. Christ is the potentiality of his right and accepted and believing state, and so is his ransom, his propitiation. And Christ's death never can be rightly apprehended, for the first time, in any world, by a human spirit, without a deepening of its sense of sin and holiness, and a deepening of its peace. He is propitiation for all human spirits in all states of being through his sacrifice, just as he is judge of quick and dead, of human spirits in all worlds, by his word.

We must pass over many representative minds, and many phases of thought, which have protested against excess or defect in doctrine, and expressed the new sense of truth in believers by new interpretation. The rise of the Lutheran Reformation, the influence of Swedenborg, of George Fox, and of Wesley, the first appearance of what has become modern Universalism, would all afford elucidation of my subject. But we must draw near to our own period,—the period of that Liberal movement in whose drift we are, and in which has been going on a new formation of the Christian doctrine, and a formation yet in mid-progress. We might call it the rational movement; but we must not forget that all speculative movements are efforts of reason to seize the truth, to sift it from error, and to place the different portions of it so as to be seen in right relations with each other. In this Liberal movement two names, among a large number of efficient co-laborers, stand out in relief to us as names of men who have expressed the reaction of the Christian consciousness of their period against assumptions petrified in the traditions from other times. These are Norton and Channing. They are historic names. They have modified interpretation throughout the theological world, more than that world will just now own. They will modify it more. Their influence is but begun. It is not an influence of their systems of theology, for I do not know that either can be said to have drawn out a system of theology; although the former had an exact and carefully chosen method of Biblical criticism and interpretation. It is the power of their intellectual and moral spirit. They were emancipators. They broke

shackles. With unparalleled personal influence over those whom they directly taught, they set minds free. They were seed minds. They produced their kind, yet with individual diversity. Mr. Norton's professional life was that of an interpreter, in a special sense, of the written word. Yet many of his greatest labors were those of an interpreter in the broader sense,—an interpreter of the bearing of the sacred text on doctrine, and of the evidence of its genuineness in the sacred text itself. Probably no single mind among us accepts all his conclusions, yet we must admit that he made a new era in interpretation. He distinctly enunciated the fact that the New Testament is not a revelation, but the record of a revelation. He broke the spell of the dogma of verbal inspiration. He wrought with as much zeal to establish the substantial authenticity of that record in the Gospels, as to correct the interpretation of it; and with a success to be more acknowledged than it ever yet has been. He was no cold critic. His sensibility to the divine in the life of Christ was quick and profound. Those who were favored with his instructions remember well how often it happened that, where they looked for only criticism, they found in the warmth and beauty of his deliberate speech an opening of the characteristic traits of Jesus, a pathetic delineation of the Divine Master's position and actions, and a breathing of his spirit, which made the text brisk and alive, and which held them transfixed with eye moistened and tongue paralyzed by unutterable emotion. To go into his recitation-room and spend the hour over any portion of the text, was to go to learn what were difficulties, and how to grapple with them; and it was to come out with a new consciousness of what one had to do, and of power to do it. The mind emancipated had a lesson in caution and reverence, as well as intrepidity. Still the emancipation brought perils. Such is the irreversible law of God. But although Mr. Norton's professional life was that of an interpreter and an educator of interpreters, he began his course as a controversialist on Christian doctrine. He may be said to have headed and led the reaction against the dogma of three persons in one God. He vindicated Monotheism valiantly against virtual Tritheism. He maintained the integrity of the idea of *person*,—

one of the most important ideas in theology. Let that idea be mutilated, and its distinctness weakened, as the Trinity weakens it, (as we see in the remarks of Stuart, Whately, and Bushnell,) and we no longer know what we mean by *One God*. The Scripture says we may all "become partakers of the Divine Nature"; "God is all and in all"; and it is as easy to conceive of millions of persons in the Godhead as of three persons, of Deity eternally millioning himself, as of Deity eternally "threeing himself." That un mutilated idea of person is essential to the clear conception and the unhindered enjoyment of the Mediator and Intercessor. Yet Mr. Norton's position was antagonistic, and it becomes those who own their debt to him with most filial admiration, to consider whether he was prepared to do full justice to the thought in relation to the constitution of the Christ, which men had tried to clothe in the theories which he impugned. Thus I dismiss a name on which it is grateful to dwell. May the mantle of his honesty and intrepidity fall on many Christian scholars.

Channing was the champion of the re-assertion by the Christian consciousness of his age, against Augustinian and other traditions, of the dignity of human nature, of freedom, of undiminished moral responsibility, of a natural power of religious intuition, and of a germ of good in human nature, never displaced, however overlaid by depravity. No poor words of mine are needed to awaken appreciative remembrance of him whom to listen to or to read was to follow in the triumphal march of Christian power. He was of the few who make ecclesiastical history, who shade anew the complexion of civilized man's dearest thought. As long as our race lasts, men will the more "honor all men" because Channing preached. Let no word of his be cancelled. Yet he was theologically antagonistic. And the student who would preach to man as he is in all ages, must place in his own system, beside the never-to-be-forgotten worth of human nature, the fact of weakness, of cumulative evil, and of heritable predisposition. Channing himself would not have the reaction go too far. The pendulum must come back. The earthly gravitation must be owned. Christian self-conquest is not, as Channing truly asserted, the suppression

of all which is natural as totally evil. It is not the stifling of nature. The soul has innate good. It is the recipient of divine life. Grace can flow only into the recipient nature has provided. And there are spontaneous exhibitions of good in all natures, which may help to complete our ideal of loveliness and greatness. Their beauty is to be gratefully welcomed and made subsidiary to Christ's spirit formed in us. All the natural affections are the handiwork of the Divine Architect of humanity; yea, his inspirations, expressions of his goodness in the nature of the soul, a wealth of our being of which Christian culture alone reveals the vast value. But this justice to nature detracts nothing from regeneration in Christ. We have all seen natures rich in beautiful affections, graceful with natural loveliness—come to sad issues, run up into a wild waste of life, fail in the momentous interests, for want of the correct, wise repression and stimulation of a wisdom let down from heaven. Some imperious innate tendency, natural weakness at a point on which the stress of life has heavily borne, has overset them, and carried over their fine endowment a sacrifice to evil, when it should have been a tribute of sacred co-operation to the One Good. Evil comes in our constitution, be it what it may, the moment we take nature for our god. Man must deny self, and come after Jesus, if he would make life a triumphant battle-field. Within our day we have been told, "Follow your constitution," which is in danger of being interpreted, "Follow your lusts." The spontaneous outgoing of the constitution is no law for the individual. Christ is the norm of human nature, and in none of us, besides, is human nature to be taken as the transcript of the Creator's law, and a measure of divinely proportioned rectitude. No fact is more clear, than that hereditary forces impose certain conditions upon the brain, and that we are beset with peculiar temptations from this cause. It blazes in the history of families and nations. The admission of this fact has in it no fatalism, as has the doctrine, "Follow the bent of your nature." This fact is not connatural sin. It brings no instant guilt and condemnation with itself; but it creates peril. It is not necessarily of evil result, but it creates the need of a divine redemption; it calls for a

standard and a help out of ourselves. It may be worked by Providence to the result of greater richness of character, to variety of spiritual forms, to an enduring strength of saintship. It is not a fate; but this hereditary force, augmented by personal action, may become a most abnormal development, without a divine life before us with its perfect forms, and within us with its support to our rectified wills. And there is nothing nobler in its results than the conquest of evil tendency in its innate forms. The more one resists it, the more is he a "conqueror through him that loved us." He is a pillar in the universal temple of God, which may need, among other supports, columns not only of Corinthian ornament, or of the Ionic slenderness of native grace, but some of a Doric massiveness and strength, wrought out of the toughest granite of nature by the persistent strokes of a will which the inward Christ moves and wields.

The review of Christian thought, as we have seen, presents strong contrasts. Doctrine is developed with intensity of statement in opposition to doctrine. A great diversity shows itself in the intellectual apprehension of the object-matter of faith. The history of all living Christianity is the history of controversy. It may seem at first view that Christ, the object of apprehension, is divisible, is variable, mutable, that there is no objective reality answering to human faith. Or we may deplore controversy, and be tempted to wish we could burn up all ecclesiastical history. But our discomfort may be changed into thankfulness, if the view which I have sought to illustrate can be received, that the Holy Spirit has been energizing Christian history, and operating upon Christian thought by various minds. A living lecturer upon the natural history of the earth and its inhabitants has indicated that, in the evolution of nature, the point of departure is a *homogeneous unit*, that the progress is *diversification*, that the end is an *organic* or *harmonic unit*, that all life is mutual exchange, and that all condition of more active life is a greater variety of forms of nature, of relative situations, of contrasts. The history of our religion indicates the same law. It is the history of the evolution of Christianity; not only of Christian theology, but of that Christian life which gives theology the law of its form and the sap of its growth. Christ

is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. He is a real entity in the universe, a real power. He is an objective life fixed in the New Testament. But Christianity, or the consciousness in believers resulting from the contemplation of the objective life, is progressive, is a development. At first it was a chaos. When Jesus was crucified, the life was a crude mass, with its mighty force latent in the disciples' minds. With the first moving of the life within men came diversity,—diversity among apostles, diversity in the apostolic age,—with tendencies, at points, to unity. Afterwards, with the extension of the Gospel, we have diversification always attending intense life. Each Christian age is a *speciality* adding to the contrasts which enrich the spreading life. Each new statement of doctrine is the upheaving of truth by the deep fiery life. Each gifted and strongly individual nature is a new point of contrast, a new island of thought to be joined to some continent opposing continent. Each mind in a peculiar position, and reasoning from a marked individual experience, has been a new organ to evolve some perfection of the hidden life. The ugly dogmas which frown upon us from the past had a beneficent origin, and have contributed to the present perfection of our Christian home on the earth. And the errors and excesses of thinkers providentially gave prominence to truths which ought ever to be in our sight, and from which must flow influences by which we live. The coldest peaks of theology were once melting and aglow; and from their dark and sombre masses have trickled rills and floated abraded particles to fertilize many a vale of sweet and still Christian communion. And if we see now less of the volcanic upheaving than was witnessed in the apostolic age, or in the next succeeding it, we enjoy a richer Christian life, which, in spite of its glaring incongruities, if Paul beholds it from his glory, must be infinite reward of his soul's travail,—which, if John had caught a full prophetic view of it, would have amazed him as much as anything in the vision of Patmos. Still, however, diversification is going on; and signs of unifying some think they see. Specks they are to others; but as surely as there is a law of mind and a God of law, diversification in the Christian evolution must approach, as it goes on, a visible harmonic unity.

Thus revelation is progressive. Christ is invariable; but the Christian revelation has been going on from the moment of his preaching on the mountain-side until now. The Holy Spirit has been and is steadily unfolding the significance of what he is and says. We may call the written word, tropically, a revelation, naming the means from the end, or the instrument from the process, or the vehicle of power from the result. The written word is the instrument, the divine spirit is the power, revelation is the process, conscious perception of Christ is the result. The progress of revelation in the generic Christian mind is analogized by the evolution of faith in an individual mind. There it begins with indistinctness. It contemplates at first fewer relations of truth, but it may have fits of more violent feeling and effort. As it grows, it diversifies, welcoming new thoughts and passing into a wider range of experience. As it ripens, it may have a more quiet life, but not less energetic. And it mellows its fruit in the autumn of man's years. As the soul is tried, as it feels the weight of responsibilities, as it passes from change to change, as it conflicts with temptation, as it is conscious of guilt, as it asks what it shall do to be saved, that which Christ spoke of the soul and to the soul is opened to us. Therefore revelation no more stands in contrast to reason, than seeing stands in contrast to the eye. Truth is revealed to reason. The word contains the object to be seen. Reason is the eye. The divine spirit is the "light of all our seeing."

Diversification, we have seen, is the law of the Christian evolution. Could the record of Christian thought and experience be struck out of existence, and the Christian mind be put back to the point at which it was at the commencement of the Christian era, it would, with the possession of the written word, run through the same phases of speculation again, except so far as they would be modified by the altered state of the world and its intelligence. The relation of the word to man's nature is such as would necessitate essentially the same spiritual experience as history discloses. Now if this be true, if Christianity be development of the meaning of the word and of the Christian consciousness as affected by its power, Christian theology must heed

this fact. When the theologian makes his summary of the truth, and forms his theory of its operation on the heart, he must take account of the facts of spiritual experience presented in this evolution of the divine life through human nature. But here arises a question and an objection. The history of the Church is not a normal unfolding of the divine life. It offers a mixed life. The imperfection of man's finite nature and perverted experience is blended with the operation of the divine spirit through the word. How shall the abnormal be separated from the normal? The consciousness of no period or church is pure. It may include the false as well as the good; and thus error may usurp the throne of truth. What is the test of the Christian consciousness? To this question an answer has been given in the *Lectures upon History** already referred to; which I will quote, partly because I assent to it in the main, and partly because it is within the scope of my subject to make upon it a passing criticism.

"The student of church history is to provide his mind with the Biblical idea of Christianity, and to use it as a crucial test, while he examines the materials; while he examines the forms of polity and of worship, the varieties of orthodox and heretical doctrinal statement, the methods of defending Christianity, the modes of extending Christianity among unchristianized nations, the styles of life and morals, the specimens of individual Christian character. Through all this complex and perplexing mass of historical matter, the true Scriptural idea must conduct the investigator, so that he may see the true meaning and worth of the facts and phenomena, and set a proper estimate upon each."

To this we may assent in the main. Doubtless Scripture must have the first place. The word is always a test of consciousness. So doubtless the investigator must carry with him some idea of Christianity with which he shall compare phenomena. But what is the "true Scriptural idea" of Christianity? Here is a new difficulty. Where shall this true theory be found? The study of Christian history may be an essential help towards finding it. The idea with which we set out upon

* "*Philosophy of History*," Lect. IV. •

our investigation may be an idol of the tribe or of the den, and deserve to be cast out by a larger induction. It may in one mind be a Calvinistic scheme of redemption, in another Naturalism, in another Swedenborgianism, or Universalism, or Unitarianism. When the investigator returns from his circuit, if he be a candid seeker of truth, he may feel obliged to modify his Biblical idea of Christianity, because a wider induction has reacted upon his interpretation. The Word and Christian consciousness are re-agents. The very figure, "crucial test," suggests an amendment of the answer to our question. Interpretation, or the Biblical idea, and the general consciousness, are *reciprocal tests*. In the crucible of history or experiment, they try one another. Each reveals the other's qualities. Each shows the other's relations to itself. Who, then, is the judge to preside over this trial? It is the human soul, with its rational and spiritual faculties. God conducts the experiment, and the human soul must estimate the results for itself. All analysis must come at last to this. Is it asked, then, where is man's infallible rule of faith and life? There is none. Intellectually or speculatively, there is no infallible rule; practically, there is a sufficient guide. Upon any theory of the Divine Word, there is for man no such infallible rule. Given a perfect written word, we must interpret it to get the rule. Human interpretation excludes infallibility from the rule. Dr. Whately, a sufficiently conservative mind, has said that the idea of infallibility is a delusion. It ought to be driven out of Christendom. Its effect is just that charged upon Transcendentalism, upon Mysticism, upon Romanism, of foisting the changelings of human tradition into the royal birthright of the Truth as it is in Jesus. There is no infallibility for us. There is probable certainty about what is essential. There is a proximate approach to truth. And we are to seek the truth by continual research, holding our systems loosely to us, and being ready, under our responsibility to God, to be taught by the Divine Word, and also by Providence and the ages.

But we may be told that this is attempting to build a bridge from Transcendentalism to Orthodoxy. I have no partiality for either of these words. They have both been misused. Transcendentalism has been a word for

bigotry to conjure with, when it would raise the demon of suspicion. I should be among the last to defend or to trifle with much which has passed under that name. But I suppose the fundamental principle of the Transcendental philosophy as applied to theology is, that God has endowed man, in all his weakness and want, with an inherent power of judging what is true and divine; and this principle is true. That faculty is Intuition. And Intuition has been finally admitted to the rights of hospitality in our liberal body. For a time, under the alarm excited by extravagant assertions, Intuition was denounced as an evil spirit, turned out of doors, beaten and left for dead. But some comforted him and bound up his wounds, knowing that he was a Siamese twin-brother of the good spirit of the Word; and that, if he were killed, the brother would be mutilated or compelled to drag after him a lifeless body. Presently the need of him was felt, and he was re-introduced with respectable auspices, sometimes under the name of Higher Reason, sometimes under that of Faith, into the mansion of Liberal Christianity, and bidden welcome. In other words, it is found that a proper spiritual faculty to receive it, is as essential to Christianity, as Christianity is to man; not to originate truth, but to receive it. Man is judge of miracle and truth. It was once said, that miracles are the sole evidence of the divine origin of Christianity; not merely the necessary attestation, but the sole evidence. The statement seems to refer exclusively to outward miracles. But we all look at the miracles in connection with the person and character of Jesus. Therefore, to the first statement the supplement was added, that Jesus's *character is itself a miracle*. This is very true. But what is it which pronounces Christ's character a miracle, or divine? Is it sight, or insight? It is the soul, or Faith, directly, intuitively, apprehending the great whole,—the person, the action, the speech, the miracle,—and judging that whole to be of God. When one like Jesus appears, those who imperfectly apprehend him bow down to something divine. When reality and truth appear, men distinguish it from pretence, just as all men distinguish a real landscape from a painted one. All men do not at once see in Jesus the same amount. But all who look at Christ with faith see much; and be-

lieve that where the best minds have found their enrichment, there is more for themselves to discover. Thus, according to the constitution of the soul, and by the intent, act, and power of God, Christ is the supreme authority in spiritual things. And this is the bridge from the true Transcendentalism to the true Orthodoxy. But it is no bridge of man's making. It is a Natural Bridge; its materials put into the original casting of the spiritual creation; built of spiritual granite; resting for one abutment on the divinely constituted nature of the human spirit, and for the other, on the divinely laid foundation of the Word; spanning with its arch the abyss of mortal darkness and human uncertainty; a glorious highway from spirit to spirit; its supports fixed by Him who of old laid the foundations of the earth; and though they shall perish, it shall endure. Over it that lowly pilgrim, the trusting faith of millions, has been passing and re-passing for centuries, — a messenger from souls to Christ, and from Christ back to souls. And let proud theorists mock her as they will, and call her a fool, as she fares on; she is in God's highway, and she will not err therein.

The blessed Christ is not divided. He impresses himself directly on the believing. Men make their systems. But Christ is not a system, but a power. The objective life acts on hearts, as a whole, through the affinity of faith; not always with the same fulness of power, but always as a whole. St. Paul knew Christ, not after men's theories, but as the mighty Objective Life, acting to develop its subjective antitype in man. He lived in *the faith of the Son of God*. Says Mr. Stanley of the Church of England, in a dissertation appended to his recently published work upon the Epistles to the Corinthians: "This faith on which he [St. Paul] dwells with an almost exclusive reverence, is not faith in any one part or point of Christ's work, but in the whole. 'Faith in his Incarnation,' 'faith in his merits,' 'faith in his blood,'* which, though employed in later times, and, like other scholastic or theological terms, often justly employed, as summaries of the Apostle's statements, yet are, in no instance, his own statements of his own

* "The apparent exception in Rom. iii. 25 is, it need hardly be observed to those acquainted with the original language, only apparent."

belief and feeling. The one grand expression in which his whole mind finds vent, is simply 'the faith of Christ.' It is, as it were, his second conscience; and as men do not minutely analyze the constituent elements of conscience, so neither did he care to describe or bring forward the several elements which made up the character and work of his Master." Let us put the stress on this "faith of Christ" as a complex whole, which leaves out the too much, or compensates for the too little, of human summaries. Where belief may err most, through excess or defect, we may often conceive the "faith of Christ" to live and to sanctify. No formulary of opinions, ever so numerous, ever so diversified, can express him fully to one man for one day of believing life; and still less to all men, for all their years and for eternity. Christ is light. When the chemist shall gather all the light of creation within the walls of his laboratory, then may the theologian hope to enclose the radiance of Him who is the light of the world within the walls of his human creed.

Brethren, the application of the principal truth to which I have sought your attention, to our position and duty, as members of this ministerial conference, has been partly indicated. There are two simple thoughts to be expressed in conclusion. First, we are to believe that Providence has brought us into our special position of difference from disciples in other Christian ranks, in order that the Holy Spirit may do by us a work which no other body on earth can do for Christ's truth and kingdom. We must keep up every true protest. We must yield nothing to the persons or the praise of men. We must let God and the future take care of our reputation and pass judgment on our usefulness. Let every difference from others and from one another stand in all its real breadth. Let policy in matters of theology be to us the abominable thing. Why, if any one of us could choose a word of our theological diction or enunciate a syllable to get fair speeches from any quarter, he would be anathema maranatha! Charity will wait long before she will consent to insinuate any such charge, any such dereliction to the spirit of truth, against Christian brethren! We can serve well the ultimate unity only by being faithful in the present

position of diversity. But, secondly, and equally, let us remember that our special position is valuable, not for its own sake, but for truth's sake. Let truth be infinitely dearer to us than triumph. Let us be ready for union with others, when, and so far as, the spirit of truth shall lead us to them, and them to us. Let us hold ourselves to be in the line of the true apostolical succession of the strenuous thinkers and holy witnesses of all time. Let us accept the wisdom of all the past, while we hope for glory beyond our power of conception to shine in the Church of the future. Let us respect our Christian position and faith so much as to believe that the great and good of all ages have been at work for us, and belong to us. And as we explore the history of times gone, or scrutinize the aspect of the time present, let us enter into the joy of our Lord, rejoicing that in any way, though mingled with error and imperfection, the faith of Christ, that infinite, complex whole, has found, and still finds, entrance into the hearts of men.

ART. II.—FAMILY WORSHIP.*

AMONG the many deviations from the religious observances of our forefathers, none has been more rapid and striking than the decline of family worship. With them, the neglect of this service was exceedingly rare; with us, its performance has become, since the opening of this century, almost as rare. The domestic altar in many quarters has been thrown down, and sometimes not one stone of it left upon another. If the rebuilding is here and there slowly commenced, as the sale of devotional books recently issued would indicate, there is still, we think, abundant room for the remarks we shall now make.

Why, then, is family worship at this time so very generally neglected? It would seem, antecedently,

* 1. *The Altar at Home*. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 16mo. pp. 350.

2. *The Christian Doctrine of Prayer. An Essay* by J. F. CLARKE. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 16mo. pp. 313.

that the last place to be invaded by the devastating power of what is vaguely termed "Reform" would be the church at home. The family stands among the few indisputably Divine institutions; and not, we should imagine, until our sanctuaries had been deserted, and "the owl and bat nested in their walls," would the voice of prayer have been in danger of dying away on that spot. Here, where our chief joys centre, it is most natural that we mutually recognize that kind Providence from whom all good descends. Where our greatest blessings cluster, there should our common thanksgivings daily arise. Amid the scenes of thick-coming temptation, we should with one heart seek to be delivered from evil. Conscious of mutual offences and sins, our prayers should be poured forth together for pardon from the one God and Father of all, by the Holy Spirit shed through the Divine Redeemer of all. On this holy ground, where our trials and griefs fall heaviest,—where father, mother, the infant form that "dies in beauty, like a rose blown from its parent stem," where dear brothers, tender sisters, and the bosom companion, are, one by one, lost from our embrace,—how can it be that no joint supplication should ascend for healing grace?

The obstacles must be many and strong which could so effectually quench this great light of the fireside.

First among these obstacles stand those of a social character. There has been of late a growing disregard of all forms and rites, until many choose to term every outward mode of worship mere form. It has no substance, they affirm; or it is only an external matter, and is not worth our regard. Not a few speak in this way of the Lord's Supper and of Baptism; they appear to them empty relics of the past, unworthy the respect of this enlightened age. And such, they say, is family prayer; it is but the utterance of words tending to no profit; it is not essential to a good character, and therefore but a waste of time. And yet, with a strange inconsistency, many who thus object to this exercise manifest a strong and increasing love of forms in other connections. In the marriage ceremony, there is more form than in the days of the Puritans; we have multiplying associations whose regalia and public processions and displays indicate a growing taste for external forms. The spirit, of

course, is always better than the body, but in this mortal sphere it needs something to inhere in; and not until human love and friendship, nay, business, society, and the world at large, can dispense with all forms whatever, may we banish them from religion.

The irreverence of the age leads some to disregard the call for domestic worship. There is a freedom in our treatment of sacred things unfriendly to all prayer. It may have been felt before, but now it is expressed. There is less decorum in our churches, less deference to the functionaries of religion, and more levity wherever prayer is wont to be heard, than formerly. If the head of the family does not partake of this spirit, he yet says within himself, "It is vain to stem this tide of irreligious deportment; we must all give way to it."

The decline also of parental authority and influence causes the father to take no stand in this duty. The children object, perhaps, to the service as wearisome in itself, or a restraint upon their manners and mirth. Accustomed always to carry their point, they do it in this case. "As for me and my house," said the devout Joshua, "we will serve the Lord." Not so the parents of this day. Instead of setting up an altar to the living God, and leading their offspring to it in faith, and with heart-touching supplications, they look on one and another of their children with the desponding lament, "Ephraim is turned unto idols; let him alone."

The unsettled character of our times is not favorable to the quiet of family devotion. When the same habitation was occupied by generation after generation of the same family, prayer rose almost spontaneously from the time-hallowed roof. The walls came to be of themselves a summons to each age to bow down before the God of their fathers. But how changed are our homes now! To move, not to abide, is the order of our day. We have well-nigh lost all those elevating and sacred, as well as delightful, associations that thronged around the good old "homestead." It is difficult to maintain habits of devotion amid constant travel; and that is the normal method of our present living. Our religious affections have hardly time to crystallize into the form of household prayer. The members of the family are journeying hither and thither; their habitation is ever changing;

and no mingled vows ascend, as they should, to Him who shields us alike at home and abroad.

The worship of the Father is supplanted, too, by the altar of Mammon. Such is the momentum of our business habits, that it often hardly allows the father to fill his seat at the daily board, if it do not drive him, with more and more frequency, from the nightly repose of his own dwelling. "What," he may sometimes ask, "can I do? To keep my business, I must pursue it early and late. I cannot compete with my neighbors unless I give my whole time to it. I know it is wrong to desert my family so much. I would be with my children, and help them, by every method in my power, to God and goodness. But how *can* I do it?"

We know well the difficulties of the case; and yet we cannot but think that the same force of will and energy of character which our business men manifest in trade, if devoted to the moral and religious culture of their children, would devise those means and methods which the exigency demands. If it is more important, in a sober and just estimate of life, to secure the best possible training for our children, than to leave them a large property, or even any property at all, then the father, at every pecuniary risk, will do his full duty to them as a parent. Should he become convinced that to lead them daily, earnestly, and in humble, conscious dependence, to that great Father whom to love is the life of their lives, is his bounden duty, then he will so arrange his affairs that this sacred trust shall be persistingly discharged.

We pass to other difficulties — those of the intellect alone — which lie in the way of family devotion. And first among these is the idea that work is worship. We can in no way serve our God so well, it is said, as to labor industriously; and we can do nothing better for our children, than to bring them up in habits of diligence. Our Father in heaven does not require us to go to him with forms of prayer. If we are faithful in all the relations of life, this is the most acceptable incense we can offer at his throne. "Mercy before sacrifice," — that is the true Christian doctrine. "Plead for the slave," say some, "help the poor, visit the imprisoned, aid the great reforms of the day, — this is better than any other worship, in the family, or indeed in any place whatever."

To this position there are two answers. The first is, that Christianity is not a one-sided religion. If it does not make worship the great and only mark of the Christian, neither does it make work his exclusive concern. It addresses itself to every part of our nature. In the old pagan religions, the priest and the teacher had two separate functions. Not so with Christ; he unites these offices at every point and part of his instructions. If he affirm that whoso doeth the will of God shall enter into heaven, he also says, "Worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

Again, while religion exalts the practical virtues, it presents prayer as an aid in their performance. We are never so sure that we love the simple right, as when we ask the Fountain of all rectitude to purify our hearts; and then best of all do we know that our motives have been single, when we receive a conscious approval of them from above. Where the head of a family leads them reverently to that high tribunal, we may look for the good tree, not only rich with a blossom garment, but laden with golden fruits redolent of heaven. Let the reformer take those dearest to him on earth daily to the common Father of all, and in the words of another, "instead of going out to empty his bosom of its corroding gall, he would go with angel sympathies welling out of it, melting all hearts into tenderness, changing evil tempers by its sweet contagion, and charming the demons to repose. The chains of the captive would fall off, not amid blood and carnage, but as by the touch of the angel in Peter's cell. Not an ill-tempered and scolding philanthropy, but a mercy fragrant with Divine goodness, would come where our fallen nature lies broken and bleeding, and bend over it, and pour in the oil and the wine."

There are those who omit family worship, from the belief that all prayer should be private. They think religion is to be locked up in the breast, and never communicated even so much as to a bosom companion. Their piety is imagined to be a refined essence, which would escape the moment it was opened to another. They forget, apparently, that man is a social being, made to share not only his outward but his inward possessions with his fellow-beings. If conversation with

the wise and good improves the mind, why, we may ask such persons, should not a joint communion with the Universal Father, the head-spring of all wisdom and love? He whom they accept as their Lord and Master left a form for his disciples, commencing, "*Our Father in heaven*"; and not only did he pray in solitude himself, but again and again with his disciples.

But some are deterred from the service in question by a still more radical difficulty. They entertain philosophical objections to all prayer whatever. They have no faith in it. They feel assured, at least, that there is never any answer to prayer. All the good it can do, in any event, is to re-act on the mind and heart of the worshipper.

Objections spring up from the character of God. He is a being possessed of infinite and perfect attributes,

"Of whose omniscient and all-spreading love
Aught to implore, were impotence of mind."

He is immutable, and of what avail were it to attempt changing his acts and purposes by our prayers? But immutable, we would ask, in what respects? Is his power such that it can operate only in one stereotyped method? If he is immutably wise, then he will vary his dealings with his creatures according to exigencies, and who is to say that the only exigency will be his own arbitrary purpose? Why may not the expressed or cherished desires of his children constitute a part of those conditions under which he will exert his unchangeable wisdom? To contend that he cannot be influenced by our petitions, is to clothe him with an iron necessity; to affirm that he has by his very nature cut off all connection whatever between prayer and his own beneficence to man, is to rob him of his prime attribute, a free will.

"God is omniscient," we are told, "and needs not to be informed of our necessities." True, he knows all our wants, and needs not that we lay them before him. So does a good father know the wants of his children, and yet he often delays to supply them until they come to him and ask him to do it. His intimate knowledge of their circumstances, instead of leading him to disregard their requests and act only as an isolated sovereign in

his government over them, is the very cause of an opposite course. He knows it is best for them that he should grant them certain favors only on condition that they seek them at his hands.

"But," says the objector, "God is too good to wait for our supplications before sending us anything he can bestow." This position assumes that outward things are his best gifts to man. But who is to say this? Who knows that interior gifts may not be of most value, and that it may not be for our highest good, too, that he should give certain things of this kind, if not any others, only in answer to prayer? If it be so, then we are required to pray, not to render him gracious and kind, but because he is so already. Were he not an infinitely good being, we should have no encouragement to seek his favor. But so great is his love for us, that he would promote in us that humility and sense of dependence, and acknowledgment of it, which prayer naturally fosters, and which so elevate and purify the character. The goodness of God, indeed, instead of sealing our lips in his presence, tends, when seen aright, to give fervor to our petitions. It leads us to anticipate that he would, in a revelation of his will, make prayer the appointed means of securing his highest blessings.

"Yet who does not see," it is sometimes triumphantly asked, "that the laws of nature are inflexible? They never bend nor change one particle in consequence of men's prayers; everything moves on as it has moved from the beginning; and so it will move through eternity. The Creator governs the universe by one great system, and we can never prevail upon him to alter it in the slightest particular." It is true that God does govern the universe by general laws, nor have we reason to anticipate such a change of those laws, as to reverse their present known operation. A literal deliverance from all external evil, in answer to prayer, would not only be a weak indulgence of our Divine Father, but it would render man a mere machine; it would take away all room for the exercise of his mind, and leave him at last an idiot. But there is a vast space between this condition of man and that which would intercept all communication whatever from God in response to our petitions. In that state of things, God would possess less

power over us than we have over one another. I can obtain many ends from my neighbor, by exerting an influence upon his mind. Shall I receive less from God, owing to his inability to confer it? Has he so bound himself by laws that he has less power left than mortal man? If he is really a free being, which amounts to saying, if he exists at all, he must possess infinitely more power than we have in every direction.

It is now, we believe, satisfactorily established, that one mind can in some cases influence another without the aid of sensible signs. Ascribe it to whatever principle we may, the fact of such influence, we suppose, is generally conceded. But has the Author of the mind itself no such capacity? Is he coerced by certain laws, physical, moral, or both, to stand apart from man, and leave his most earnest petitions for audience and aid unanswered? To affirm this, is to rob him of omnipotence, and to make him in effect, like the pagan idol, a being of wood or stone.

We proudly imagine in this day of science, that, having achieved so much in the realm of intellect, we can decide this great question of prayer once and for ever; and some accordingly do not hesitate to pronounce it all unavailing with God. It is but a few years since an English writer demonstrated, as he thought and many others also, that the Atlantic could not be crossed by a steamship. But, like many other of the proud positions of science, this was soon overthrown. So we believe it will be with the logic and inductions of those minds which profess to demonstrate the inefficacy of prayer. By leaving the ground they now occupy, and coming into the true philosophy of this subject, they will find a way opened for the providence of the Father, and room left for his heeding the requests of his children. They will see that there is not only an earth-sphere, but a heaven-sphere, and that we must ascend to that sphere to solve our doubts and difficulties on this topic. Then we shall credit the great truth promulgated by our Saviour, "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father in heaven give good gifts to them that ask him."

Two main arguments weigh with the Christian mind in favor of the doctrine of prayer. First, it is com-

manded plainly in the Scriptures, and with the promise of an answer from above. Our Saviour taught his disciples to pray; by precept and parable he showed them that men ought always to pray, and not to faint. He connected with the injunction an assurance of God's mercy to the supplicant: "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will grant it." He inculcated, it is true, a patient waiting for the Divine response to our petitions, but he never intimated that we might pray in vain. His own example confirmed his teachings on this point, and to show that in heaven as well as on earth prayer will avail with God, we are informed that "he ever liveth to make intercession for us," and that "we have an advocate with the Father, Christ the righteous."

This lesson of revelation is confirmed by the demands of our nature. An earnest writer maintains, that the scepticism of our times in regard to a particular providence is "conjured up by toiling intellects," and that the belief which it partially overshadows "lies safely intrenched all the while amid the fastnesses of the unalterable nature of man." He contends that this belief is so indigenous to the human heart, that, if it will not take its *cultivated* form as a belief in Providence, it will, to a certainty, take its *wild* form as a belief in Fate or Destiny." This we regard as true, and in an age like this, of progressive education and diffusion of knowledge, we feel confident that the faith imbedded in the human heart by its Creator must take its "cultivated form," and lead to a growing belief in a special providence and an answer to prayer.

If it be true of no other subject, it clearly is of this, that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." Seeing how far we can penetrate into the old mysteries of science, we begin to imagine that reason will yet fathom the depths of devotion, and that we shall become gods ourselves, needing no help from Omniscience. Some expect to carry scientific methods so far into the realm of religion, as to supersede the light of Revelation. Removing the ancient landmarks between physical and moral subjects, they think to resolve the latter into a mere province of the former. Indeed, it may well be questioned whether most of the modern encroachments

on the territory of faith are not referable to a false method of reasoning. Our absorption in the material world leads us to require, in every case, the evidence of sense. Hence our distrust of all spiritual averments which do not appeal in some way to the eye or the ear. We lose sight of the distinctive characteristic of moral evidence, or at least we underestimate its value. We do not perceive clearly what amount of testimony constitutes in this relation a legitimate proof. In one respect, not a few of the adorers of science are disloyal to one of their own fundamental principles. They start in their own province from certain axioms and postulates. "The whole of a thing is equal to the sum of all its parts," for example. They do not go behind that affirmation to demonstrate it. Why then refuse to allow religion its axioms? In spiritual things they will accept no postulates; the very foundations of all moral reasoning must themselves be underlaid by something deeper still. We affirm that "faith is the evidence of things not seen." Why go behind that, and say that there is no trustworthiness in faith. Is it consistent in the man of science, when we appeal to consciousness as the basis of all evidence in the affairs of religion, to deny that that is a postulate, and resolve consciousness into an illusion?

You doubt, or perhaps disbelieve in, the possibility of any true answer to prayer. We reply, that your scepticism is premature; we say to you, that faith is the very condition of prayer being heard and answered. Is not the position a sound one? When you have gone to the Father, and asked him in faith those things he has promised in the Bible to bestow on this condition, then, and not till then, is it consistent, philosophically speaking, to deny that prayer is of any avail with God. Or, to go still farther back, let us suppose you have misgivings, when you pray, as to the very being of the God you address; we contend that you mistake the fundamental condition of prayer, which is, "He that cometh to God," expecting to be heard, "must believe that he *is*."

We may find a most reliable argument for prayer in the fact that man is by nature a worshipper. The corner-stone of this truth is laid in the sentiments of love and veneration. We naturally love good men; the

greater their goodness, the stronger our affection for them. Those who are distinguished in certain walks excite our admiration and our reverence; the mother, we say, "almost worships" her dear son; the nation almost worships its hero or sage. There is a Being in whom all those qualities which excite this class of emotions culminate. He is the perfection of all that is amiable, and of whatever is to be admired and had in reverence. Why should he not receive the culmination of our love and reverence, — that is, be actually worshipped? Setting aside the call of revelation for the moment, prayer, we affirm, is an imperative demand of our nature.

But more than this, in every age of human history, and in all stages of civilization, man has shown a propensity to worship. The African bowing down to his Fetich, the Hindoo prostrate before his images and idols, the North American savage adoring the Great Spirit, all illustrate this inherent disposition. In the idolatry of fashion, public opinion, honor, and gain, we see a worship, and none the less so because it is paid to false gods. Indeed, some of the most affecting testimonials to the invincibleness of the sentiment of devotion are sometimes seen in the very height of an age of luxury and of the adoration of Mammon. The splendid church is reared, and the wealthy devotee enters it in gorgeous apparel, borne thither, we fear, too often only at the behests of fashion, or by the promptings of a piety so feeble as to seem only the twilight rays of a sun of heartfelt devotion long since set. So do the institutions of religion sometimes survive among the children, when the spirit of the fathers, that once made them real and life-giving, has passed away.

By the light of the Gospel, we can see that the Father has "never left himself without witness." The golden calf of the Canaanite and the "unknown God" of the Athenian show the operations of the spirit of man groping for the one living and true God. Mountain, wood, river, — every element, — has had its deity. Man has felt that there was a power above himself, whose favor was to be sought and his anger deprecated. True, this feeling has sometimes led him into the grossest errors and superstitions; but amid them all, the religious sentiment has still shone forth. The race were "feel-

ing after" the God of heaven. It was to find his presence and propitiate his regard that they set up altars and established everywhere a priesthood; and so deep is man's craving for worship, that he has clung to his priest long after that sacred function has been perverted and abused for the most selfish ends. Worship has been rendered in all ages up to the present.

Does the progress of knowledge indicate that the Holy Spirit needs to be sought no more? Is prayer less essential in the family or elsewhere, than in ruder periods of society? Or is the great Object of worship fading into obscurity? On the contrary, the more we advance in intelligence, the more are proofs of the being, presence, and goodness of God multiplying. True science, as it penetrates his works, discovers fresh tokens of his nearness to man. Astronomy, weighing the planets, and adding to their catalogue; geology, reading a new revelation in the great book of stone; chemistry, decomposing and recomposing all the elements of nature, — may find at every turn some new proof of the Omnipresent One. The inventions of our age, instead of puffing up the man of genius, ought to inspire him with a deeper reverence of that Power which is daily laying open to him more widely the treasure-house of his works. The beneficent ends to which science and art may be applied present ever-increasing evidence of a Presiding Goodness on high. Instead of outgrowing religion, or being elated with our own abilities, because we can do so much more than ages gone by, we ought rather to cherish an augmented gratitude to God. He who is pouring out his gifts so liberally through the mind of man requires justly a more fervent devotion of His children. How false are we to every true and noble sentiment, if we make this the occasion for deserting the domestic altar, and stifling in ourselves the call for prayer!

Especially does this incongruity strike one who considers the needs of the human mind in this age. In proportion to its culture and expansion, it requires not less, but more, intercourse with the great Fountain of all light and all power. The most educated and truly wise men are always marked by their modesty and humility. The tendency of wide research is to make us see and feel how little we know. If our learning render us proud,

self-reliant, and ungodly, then is it as yet superficial. The effervescence of vanity and self-esteem betrays, not the deep and grand spring of truth's waters, but a shallow and bubbling stream alone. He who has measured his own powers feels how meagre at best they are. Conscious of unfathomable wants, "flesh and heart cry out" in him "for the living God." He can be happy only in communion with the Infinite Spirit.

We are led hence to say, that the demand of our time is not for the abandonment of worship, nor yet for lower offices of prayer, but that we foster the devout element of our nature more sedulously, until, rising above all negligence, and all fear too, it find rest in a hallowed joy. We cannot now remain content with the "beggarly elements" of a benighted and timid service of God. We must advance beyond that worship which approaches its object only when

"By conscience dragged, or custom led,"

and, like the Psalmist of old, joy and rejoice in our acts of praise. We need now the spirit which Jerome describes as marking his times, when "you could not go into the fields but you might hear the ploughman at his hallelujahs, the mower at his hymns, and the vine-dresser singing David's psalms." Strange indeed will be the spectacle, if, instead of being brought nearer to the Father by the warm rays of Revelation, our love waxes more and more cold; if, while prophets and holy men of old made the heavens vocal with their jubilant devotions, our voices grow fainter and fainter, and God be more remote from us who have seen him manifest in Christ through the flesh, than he was from patriarch and saint in Palestine.

How, indeed, can we solve this modern declension and loss of the good old Hebrew faith in God, as the doer of all things and the answerer of every suppliant breath? It springs in part, doubtless, from the practical character of our time. The growing development of the human mind diminishes at first a sense of dependence on the Divine mind. The increase of mechanical skill weakens our reliance upon that wisdom which is from above. What is wanting in the individual, we are supplying by combination and associations, until the extent and power

of our material agencies seem to some to promise the sufficiency of man to lift himself above the need of help from God. These energies, joined to what is termed, with a fearful significance, "the almighty dollar," are leading many, we suspect, to a false pride, and a consequent neglect, secret no less than open, of the calls of devotion. Indeed, we may perhaps trace all the present obstacles and impediments to family worship ultimately to the condition of the interior man, produced by our absorption in the external world. A spiritual mind, reigning in the head of a household, and diffused through all its members, must, we believe, eventuate in united prayer. Let there be true life, the life of Christ seated in the soul, and it exerts an expulsive power sufficient to bear down any number of minor obstacles. Twig, bough, branch, all the gross accumulations that dam up the shallow stream of spiritual indifference, are no sooner struck by the great rain of the opened heavens, than they are swept away like straws. Let a parent feel the value of the souls in his household, and he can hardly forbear, at the cost of whatever personal sacrifices, to seek their immortal good. He will feel that he had better leave them penniless on his death-bed, than destitute of an interest in eternal things. In this spirit he will not only win them to the love of God by the perusal with them of his Word, and teach them to bend the knee before the Father in their closet, but will be constrained to offer with them daily petitions for pardon through their common Redeemer.

We hold to no austerities in this service; it ought never to be made repulsive by its gloom; the age — and we rejoice at the fact — demands a cheerful piety. But we need not, in yielding to this demand, give ourselves over to a heartless frivolity. Let joy and mirth ring beneath the roof-tree; once we were children ourselves, and why forbid our own offspring that buoyant temper fitting to their age? Yet there is a line, distinct, however delicate, between mirthfulness and levity. Religion welcomes the one as decidedly as it disowns the other. There is nothing in the fullest sympathy, even to playfulness, between parent and child, repugnant to joint acts of devotion. They mistake their own position and responsibilities who think the encouragement of the one must be to the sacrifice of the other.

It is our firm conviction, that, without some act of recognition of God, as witness and judge of all hearts, like the service in question, our homes will soon lose the very aroma of heaven. They will become mere resting-places for the night, or scenes for embellishment and outward display, or at best the abodes of creatures of mere impulse and sentiment. If we want our children established in the full truth of Jesus, in Christian principles as well as feelings; if we would see them dedicate themselves each, personally, to God, and live a life of earnest, practical religion, — we must take them in their early and their later years, by fervent and blended prayer, to Him who seeth the heart and will try its issues.

We have little confidence in mere exhortations on the topic before us, and have endeavored to present its claims on the calm judgment of the intellect, on the regard of the philosopher and the philanthropist, no less than the Christian. We do not forget, either, the practical difficulties which prevent some who would fain perform this sacred function from doing it. There is a distrust of ability, a consciousness of imperfect education, the fear of strictures from the cultivated, or of the charge of inconsistency between the prayer and the character. Yet these, and all other similar impediments, have often given way, when the service has been approached with a tender conscientiousness, a sincere faith, and in humble reliance on the great Heaven above. If he who has lain long infirm and disabled will, under the pressing sense of his needs, try almost any remedy rather than lie as he is, why should not the father try this holy experiment? So anxious to do well by his children, so confident that in other respects he has only to exert himself and he can help and bless them, how long shall he keep silence at the family altar?

There is something that touches us so deeply when we read a description like that of the Cotter's Saturday Night, — where "the parent pair"

"Proffer up to Heaven the warm request,
That He who stills the raven's clamorous nest,
And decks the lily fair in flowery pride.
Would, in the way his wisdom sees the best,
For them and for their little ones provide;
But, chiefly, in their hearts with *grace divine* preside," —

that we cannot sympathize with that parent's mind or

heart who, either determinately or thoughtlessly, neglects this tribute to the Father of all families. We do not believe the day school, however excellent, can ever supply its want; nor yet the Sunday school. And we question whether good domestic instructions, or even an otherwise exemplary life, can supersede its claims. The least we can do, in return for the inappreciable service done by the Gospel to the fireside, is to acknowledge its blessings by united thanksgivings. These children are soon to go forth and wrestle with the hard world, tempted, crossed, whelmed sometimes in a thick moral darkness. Happy for them if, as their thoughts revert to "the play-place of their early days," they can bring up the form of a loved and honored parent, with the open Bible before him, its words read in lowly reverence, giving utterance to some fervent appeal prepared for him by another spirit, or — more touching still — with a solemn and tremulous voice commending them in his own language to their God and Guardian on high. When such holy scenes are all past, saintly forms may still speak to us through memories and associations that are a pillar-cloud to us through life. Their places are left vacant below; but soon will they meet us again, parent and child, brother and sister, to renew the eternal ascription that goes up from the one great family in Christ on earth and in heaven.

A. B. M.

ART. III. — RECENT GERMAN LITERATURE.

OF making many books there is no end, and much study of a large number of those now published upon theology is indeed a weariness to the flesh. It is a remark of Lichtenberg, that there are no articles in the world so singular as books; — printed by people who do not understand them; bound, read, and criticized by people who do not understand them; and now-a-days even written by people who do not understand them. As we have no need of such importations, the present

notice will be confined to those publications that are really deserving of attention.

Upon the Old Testament, besides the new edition of *Ewald's Hebrew Grammar*,—a work of immense learning, compared with which that of Gesenius is a mere primer,—the first volume of *Hupfeld's Commentary on the Psalms* merits special consideration, since it supersedes the classic commentary of De Wette (who availed himself of the Professor's manuscript notes in preparing his last edition), which it surpasses both in completeness and in precision. The earliest ancient versions, the interpretations of the Fathers and the Rabbis, have been carefully consulted, as well as the principal modern critics, among whom Calvin holds deservedly so high rank. Abstaining from all moral reflections which have no connection with the text, the author has aimed to give a sound philological interpretation, being equally opposed to the uncritical method which makes no distinction between the several books of the Old Covenant, and to the rationalistic exegesis which resolves the concrete thoughts of the writers into abstract general formulas. Whilst fully recognizing the merits of Hengstenberg, he has most conclusively refuted his unwarrantable assertions, and rebuked his attempts to vindicate the narrow views and revengeful language of the Jews by charging them upon the Deity, and to justify the conduct of the Old Testament saints as though they were exempted from the common laws of morality. Twenty-one Psalms are explained in the present book, the Introduction being reserved for the end. The entire work will probably embrace three volumes, and be finished in four years, as the Professor intends in the mean time to republish his *Hebrew Grammar*.

Upon the New Testament are to be noticed the first numbers of *Tischendorf's* elegant edition, which embody the results furnished by the valuable manuscripts recently acquired by him in the East, some of which it had been hoped might be secured for the library of Harvard or Yale. As among the books of the New Testament the writings of Paul and John have been more critically studied than the rest, and among the former the Epistle to the Romans, so now we have to mention two new works upon this Epistle. The first is the Com-

mentary of *Umbreit*, which, dedicated to the memory of Lücke, interprets the book in its connection with the Old Testament. The second is that of *Tholuck*, the first edition of which (published when the author was twenty-four years of age) marked an era in the exegesis of this book, and which now appears, thirty-one years later, in a fifth edition, altogether rewritten and vastly improved. It is most interesting to compare this last with that first production of the esteemed Professor; and, as the earlier edition was translated at Andover, we trust that the present one will also appear in English, since it has been so greatly modified and enriched. The author thus defines his position: "Although I will not allow myself to be bound by the authority of any doctrinal or exegetical tradition, I nevertheless rejoice, in the interpretation of this Epistle, to be able to go hand in hand with the elder expounders and doctrinal writers of the Lutheran Church." Thorough and impartial consideration has been given to the views of the new Tübingen school; but, while refuting the one-sided views of Baur, the author has not hesitated to adopt his opinions whenever they appeared to be substantiated. Thus, on page 17 he says: "Have we to deny, then, every polemical tendency of this Epistle? Was it the design of the Apostle simply to deliver his gospel connectedly, previous to his arrival in Rome? This opinion, once defended by me, I can no longer consider to be correct, even in the more plausible form which Philippi has given to it. It appears to me to be true, what Baur remarks in 'Paulus,' page 338," etc. So, likewise, on page 25 we read: "Since the time of Melancthon, this Epistle has been regarded as a compendium of biblical dogmatics, under which point of view Olshausen also recommends that theological studies should be begun with it. When, however, we follow the course of thought from Chapter I. to XI., we are rather disposed to find laid down in it a Christian Philosophy of the World's History. Compare Baur's 'Paulus,' p. 657." With reference to the other commentators, the following judgment is pronounced: "For philological and critical interpretation, the most important results have been furnished by Fritzsche, whose logical power and acuteness Meyer shares in his second edition, which

contains valuable independent expositions; for theological explanations, Olshausen and Philippi are to be referred to; for the history of the exegesis, Fritzsche and Rückert; among the compends, that of De Wette occupies the first place by its spirit, good taste, and sound exegetical tact." The fifth volume of Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie* contains interesting articles from the Professor on Johann Gerhard and Otto von Gerlach. A new edition of his Commentary upon the Sermon on the Mount is just leaving the press, and is to be followed by an improved one of his Commentary on John.—*Lünemann* has also published, as a part of Meyer's Handbook, a Commentary on the Hebrews, and *Meissner* has newly edited De Wette's Commentary on the Corinthians.

In the department of Ecclesiastical History have appeared the fifth volume of *Gieseler's* standard work, which embraces the Church history of the most recent times, from the year 1814 to the present day, and the sixth volume, which contains the History of Doctrines. In the Preface to the former, Redepenning says, that, as throughout this History events have been interpreted simply as they occurred, "there is scarcely any work of his which has more claims to the consideration of contemporaries and to a lasting regard than this," since it was designed to form the conclusion of the entire work. A Biography then follows, in which the judgment of Dorner is confirmed, that Gieseler can by no means be called a rationalist. No volume of the History will more interest our readers than this, since it describes the struggles of the last forty years, and includes the history of rationalism. In the last chapter, which records the latest Church history in our own country, it is remarked (pp. 374, 378): "Unitarianism was not transplanted to America, but sprang up there of itself. In the year 1787 the Episcopal congregation in Boston, with their pastor, James Freeman, separated themselves from the Episcopal Church, and became the first Unitarian congregation in North America; and since that time very many others have been formed. Among the uneducated classes in America, Methodism is increasing with very great rapidity; among the educated, however, Unitarianism makes great progress, and seems likely to be-

come gradually the ruling party among them. It thereby gains the merit of retaining many who otherwise would cut loose from all religion." His *History of Doctrines* is dedicated to the Göttingen Theological Faculty, of which the author and editors both were members, and it gives the lectures of the Professor exactly as we heard them in 1852. Remarking the great interest which attended them during a long series of years, and designating them as almost absolutely impartial, the editor observes (p. xxi.): "There is scarcely a strictly orthodox man who really holds at present the so-called Apostolic Creed in all its parts in the sense in which these were originally taken, and which they received quite accidentally, — some of them in the fourth and fifth century. From the statement 'conceived by the Holy Ghost,' to that of the 'resurrection of the body,' old and new interpretations are applied in the most various ways. So, likewise, in the Augsburg Confession, from the second article, which declares that all who are unbaptized are condemned under God's eternal wrath, to that which treats of the seven ecclesiastical abuses, there is much expressed which the most zealous advocates twist and turn until an altogether different sense is the result. These forced interpretations are well known to theologians, and to some extent they are stealthily mixed up with the instruction of the catechumens. But what is gained by all this? These artificial views do not take root in our congregations; they do not understand them, and they turn away from them with the idea that, after all, people wish to restore the mere letter of a traditional formula, and the altogether impossible opinions of a great but by-gone age. It is necessary to put an end to these artificial tricks, lest the whole Christian Church be brought into extreme danger," etc. From the work itself we select only the following passage on the history of the doctrine of the Trinity in the first two centuries. Having spoken of the practical relation which the baptismal formula expresses, Gieseler continues (p. 119): "Thus the first Christians found in the phrase 'Son of God' only the expression of the moral relation of Christ to God, — that he was beloved of God and like to God, as a son to his father, and hence was sent for the redemption of men; and they never thought of developing

speculatively the other side of this idea, the metaphysical relation of the Son to the Father. So, likewise, the Jewish Christians, the later Nazarenes, contented themselves with the simple faith, that Christ was the Son of God, born of the Virgin by the Holy Ghost. But it was remarked above, that Paul and John define more particularly the divine in Christ, by declaring that through it God made the world and has always guided mankind; and that John terms it *λόγος*, using an expression borrowed from the philosophy of that day. The spirit of God, however, in the New Testament, is simply the power and agency of God, in particular the illuminating and sanctifying power of God, which is operative in Christians. All further definitions are wanting with the writers of the New Testament, who only aimed to set in their true light the benefits conferred upon men by the Son and Spirit, to incite them to make a grateful use of these blessings, and to render them susceptible for them, but not to give any metaphysical statements respecting the nature of the Son and Spirit." The fourth volume of Gieseler's History will be published during the present year, and the work will be then complete. A third cheap edition of Neander's Church History, with a preface from *Ullmann*, is now in press, as well as his History of Doctrines, edited by *Jacobi*. In a biographical article upon Gieseler in the *Real-Encyclopädie*, *Herzog* remarks: "In delineating the first period of Catholicism, Gieseler is obviously superior to Neander. By this remark we presuppose that Neander's greatness cannot be impaired by partial censure, which of course we do not design to give. Whilst Neander strangely throws no light upon the origin of the Catholic Church, — a deficiency which his pupils have carefully abstained from supplying, herein also faithfully following their master, — this extremely important turning-point in the development of the Church appears with great clearness in Gieseler's History. And in general, in my opinion, he is much more skilful in grouping than Neander." *Karl Schwarz*, the author of "Lessing as a Theologian," will publish at Easter a history of German Theology since Schleiermacher and Hegel, under the title, "The Last Twenty Years in Theology." *Polenz* promises this year the first volume of his History of the Refor-

mation in France. The first half of the second volume of *Henke's* sterling biography of Calixtus has just appeared, and the second edition of *Duncker's* History of Antiquity.

The effects of the spirit of reaction are much more visible in philosophy than in history; and *Ulrici's* remarks, in his Journal for Philosophy and Philosophical Criticism, 1855 (p. 301): "We shall soon be so far in Germany, that a *strictly* philosophical work will find no publisher, because it will find no purchasers." Still, however, we have to announce the second edition of the first volume of *Zeller's* admirable History of the Greek Philosophy, of *Schwegler's* popular compend, of *Erdmann's* Psychological Letters, and of *Schaller's* Body and Soul. *Kuno Fischer* treats, in the second volume of his History, of Leibnitz and his School, and *K. P. Fischer*, Professor in Erlangen, devotes the third volume of his "System" to Speculative Theology, or the Philosophy of Religion. *Weisse's* Philosophical Dogmatics, or Philosophy of Christianity, is well worthy of attention, having this great merit above other works on the same subject, that it pays regard to the latest results of biblical criticism, its author being well read in theology and in philosophy. The elegant editions of *Kant*, by Rosenkranz, and of *Herbart*, by Hartenstein, each consisting of twelve volumes, may now be had for one fourth of the original subscription price, i. e. each for six, or both for eleven dollars. Two volumes only are wanting to make *Baader's* works complete; the posthumous works of *Schelling* are every day expected.

The first volume of *Gervinus's* History of the Nineteenth Century takes up the narrative where Schlosser left it; for the six or eight volumes which it will embrace, the author receives 40,000 gulden, and the Introduction, which was confiscated at the time of its appearance, has brought him 6,000 thalers. A life of Wilhelm von Humboldt is already announced from *Haym*. *Alexander von Humboldt*, who still retains his full vigor, is writing the fourth volume of his *Cosmos*. *Chevalier Bunsen* has in press two volumes which conclude his work on Egypt, and two which bear the title, "The Faith of Humanity in the Moral Government of the World." The Chevalier thinks that the former, by its

general results drawn from the criticism of the Egyptian monuments, will throw new light upon Universal History; and the eloquent passages with which the latter abound, (which we have been permitted to see in manuscript,) will secure for them a large circle of readers, alike in Germany, England, and America. The sixth edition of *Vilmar's* and the second of *Julian Schmidt's* History of German Literature have appeared, much improved; *Hettner's* first volume of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century embraces English Literature from 1660 to 1770. The fourth edition of *Schleiden's* very popular work on Plants and their Life, is elegantly illustrated. Four volumes of *Theodore Parker's* works have appeared in German, together with a volume of Hymns, which were suggested by his writings. The report that the Tübingen Theological Review has been discontinued, is incorrect.

We have received the Catalogue of the Library of the late lamented Dr. Lücke, the eminent Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen, and which is peculiarly rich in all departments. The merits of this collection are, that it is well selected, is very complete, particularly in reference to the Gospel of John and the Epistles of Paul, and contains very little that has not positive value, while the literature reaches to the year 1854. It is peculiarly adapted to practical use, and scarcely any work will be found wanting in it which a theological student can desire. The editions of the Fathers are not indeed the most expensive; but still the Benedictine edition of Augustine in ten volumes, Cotelier's edition of the Apostolic Fathers, Wetstein, the Corpus Reformatorum, the Theological "Studien," in fifty-four volumes, the works of Calvin, Zwingli, the philosophers, and others, are contained in the collection. The price at first asked was 1,700 thalers, which was afterwards reduced to 1,500 thalers (about \$ 1,200); which for such a library of four thousand volumes is a very reasonable sum, being 700 thalers less than that paid for Thilo's library. We are glad that it has been secured for the Divinity School in Cambridge, as it may be long before a similar opportunity will occur.* We

* Our School is indebted for this valuable Library to the generosity of Benjamin Loring, Esq., of Boston.

may add, that among other works in it we observed *Dr. Noyes's* Commentaries on Job and Proverbs, and two volumes of the Christian Examiner; as we recently saw in a Leipzig bookstore a copy of *Dr. Furness's* Jesus and his Biographers, which belonged to the late Dr. Röhr.

The deaths of *Hermann* and *Schneidewin* in Göttingen, and of *Meier* in Halle, all of them Professors of Philology, have left vacancies which cannot easily be filled. *Reinhold*, Professor of Philosophy in Jena, is also deceased, and *Julius Müller*, one of the most eminent doctrinal theologians of Germany, and one of the strongest supporters of the Union, is but slowly recovering from a violent attack of apoplexy. During the last winter 5,566 students were enrolled in the Prussian Universities, 880 devoting themselves to the study of Evangelical Theology, 106 of whom were foreigners. Provost *Krause* of the Evangelical Church in Breslau has, after a long contest, finally been elected pastor of the St. Nicolai Church in Hamburg; an article in *Hengstenberg's Church Gazette*, No. 19, p. 192, for March 5, proves conclusively that he is a Unitarian. *Ewald* in Göttingen has respectfully but decidedly refused to give in his adherence to the newly modified constitution of Hanover; and he still retains his place. *Wislicemus* writes very severely against the want of refinement and the barbarism in the United States, the tyranny of public opinion, the mob law, and the slave-hunting of the American Russia.— We had intended to give a list of the books which are prohibited in Prussia, as well as of some other political documents which have been printed and circulated privately; but these are not especially suited to our pages, and would be of less interest to our readers.

Too ingenious and successful, however, have been the literary forgeries of *Constantine Simonides* to allow us to omit a brief notice of them. This Greek Barnum, having endeavored to impose upon the citizens of Athens, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and London by his manufactured ancient manuscripts, and in England having met with some success, came in July last to Leipzig, and sold to the University library there some of his fictitious treasures from Mount Athos. At the same time he exhibited large fragments of the work

entitled *Pastor Hermæ*, which we possess only in Latin translations and in the fragments of the Fathers. This was published by Professors Anger and Dindorf, accompanied with a long Introduction, in which the opinions of Baur seemed to be refuted, since here was evidence that the Holy Spirit was recognized as a *person* in the second century. Soon afterwards Simonides exhibited a palimpsest consisting of seventy-two leaves of the history of the Egyptian kings by the Alexandrian Uranios, embracing three books from the earliest times to that of Ptolemæus Lagi. The second handwriting, which is undoubtedly genuine, dates from the eleventh or twelfth century, and the first is in uncials of the fifth. Professor Dindorf, after some examination, bought the manuscript for 2,000 thalers, and then offered it to the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 5,000 thalers. After some consideration, they determined to purchase it,—relying on the great reputation of Dindorf, and thinking that in England much more would be given for it,—and Lepsius, who intended to publish it, at once furnished half the money from his own pocket. The members of the Academy then proceeded to examine it more closely; and for this purpose Lepsius directed his attention to the Egyptian history, Boeckh to the classical allusions, and Pertz, with his chemical agents, to the characters of the manuscripts. Many suspicions were at once excited, and among others by the fact, that a conjecture which Bunsen had made in his work on Egypt was here perfectly confirmed. A fortnight, however, elapsed, before complete evidence was obtained that the whole was a gross deception, whereupon Lepsius at once proceeded to Leipzig with the head of the Berlin police to arrest the swindler. Meantime Lycurgos, a countryman of Simonides, as well as Professor Tischendorf, had become convinced of the fraud from palæographical and other grounds; and accordingly Lepsius and Stieber found Constantine in the act of leaving Leipzig for London, with the chemical materials for making old ink in his trunk, and the very passage in Bunsen's Egypt marked with a red line. He was at once transported to Berlin; but it now appears that he cannot be convicted, since he never designed to deceive the Academy, but, strictly speaking, only Professor Dindorf. We will make no

remarks upon the position of the latter; Gesenius himself in 1825 published a Phœnician inscription from Malta, which afterwards proved to be a forgery. It may be doubted, however, if in any other country the deception could have been detected, or even in Germany, if the study of Egyptian history were not so far advanced. At any rate, it is no small testimony to the talent of Simonides (whose portrait appears in the Leipzig Illustrated Gazette of March 15), that he was able to keep the Berlin Academy for fourteen days in doubt as to whether they had before them a genuine manuscript or not; and it has been suggested, that, after he has paid the penalty of his crime, he deserves to be appointed Professor of Philology in one of the Universities.

The recent duel between the Berlin Police-Director Hinckeldey and Lieutenant Rochow, a member of the Upper House, in which the former was killed, and which, originating in the breaking up of a gambling club of nobles, has been universally regarded as a contest between the nobility and the officers of the law, has not only not been condemned as conflicting with the idea of a "Christian state," but has even been defended by the pious theological politicians. Personal honor, it is said, is the talent, which, according to Matt. xxv. 27, we ought to put out at interest; and a duel is nothing more than a war between two persons, and just wars are allowed by the Bible as well as by the Augsburg Confession.

The writer has endeavored on a former occasion to give the readers of the Christian Examiner an idea of the recent movements in the German Church and State,—

"quæque ipso miserrima vidi
Et quorum pars parva fui," —

in some remarks, which, ascribed to an Englishman who is "far removed from all theological radicalism," have even formed the subject of a leading article in a religious journal in Berlin. The progress, however, which has been made since that date causes the opinions there expressed to appear very tame and weak. Since then, the party of reform have endeavored to introduce corporal punishment, allowing thirty blows to be inflicted, fifteen at a time. Since then, *Count Pfeil* has shamelessly boasted in the Upper House, that he had maltreated many persons who were legally innocent, for

which another person would have been sent to the state-prison. In the discussion upon the corruptions in the recent election *Gerlach* declared, "The freedom of election consists, not in being subject to no influences, but in being subject to the right influences." In the debate on the 6th of March, on rescinding Art. 4 of the Constitution, which provides that "all Prussians are equal before the law, and privileges of caste are not permitted," *Wagener* declared:—

"The Americans have a large share in the invention of such phrases as the rights of man; but they unfortunately forgot to have them signed also by their slaves. [Merriment and Bravo!] It seems at the present day, but it only seems, as if the errors which lurk in such axioms of the Constitution now slept; but who will secure us against periods when they will awake again, and what shall we oppose to those who may then have the will, and perhaps the power, to carry out these propositions, which you now leave unregarded, to their full extent? It has been said, we must have regard to public opinion, and to the excitement which will arise from the abrogation of such articles. But we have previously resolved, and have recently found it highly practicable, to swim against the stream of what is so readily called public opinion. In this respect we adopt Bonaparte's policy, and regard only that public opinion which we ourselves make; and I believe this to be the duty of all representatives of the country."

Gerlach then added: "In saying that that article of the Constitution which allows it to be modified is particularly dear to me, I only utter in substance what his Majesty the king himself declared and impressed upon us, before taking his oath to keep the Constitution." On the next day the attempt was made to abolish Art. 12, which provides that offices in the state are not dependent upon religious confession, and thereby to deprive 230,000 Jews of the possibility of attaining to any civil office. It was remarkable to see on this occasion the Catholic representative defending the Jews; and it has been said with truth, that these destroyers of the people's rights are indeed *Volkstreter*,—not *Volksvertreter*, but *Volkszeretreter*. The truly great men, however, have no sympathy with this faction, as is manifest

from the conduct of *Alexander von Humboldt*, who, notwithstanding his great age, went into the popular meetings of the liberal party, and was afterwards presented by the government of Berlin with the freedom of the city. If it is asked how these things can be in an enlightened country, it is to be considered that the bureaucracy is immense, that the press is under strict supervision, that no meetings of the people are allowed, — it being a significant fact that town-halls do not exist in Germany, and that all public gatherings must take place in the hotels, — and that the army is obliged to take the oath of unconditional obedience to the king, wholly regardless whether he keeps or breaks the Constitution. There is no prospect of any amelioration during the reign of the present monarch.

If we glance at recent events in the Church, we see in Mecklenburg, that Christian burial was refused to a lawyer, because he did not hold the Lutheran creed. Hengstenberg, Stahl, and others, interceded with the Emperor of Austria in behalf of Borzinsky, a convert to the Augsburg Confession, who was not permitted by the Catholics to enjoy religious rights; but the petition was confiscated and prohibited in Vienna. When, however, the Evangelical Conference at Paris requested these gentlemen to intercede in behalf of the oppressed Protestants in Sweden, this was their reply: —

“We beg leave to remark in this respect, that proposals which aim to bring about everywhere a recognition of an abstract, unconditional religious liberty lie beyond the principles of the German Evangelical Church. Our mandate is limited to those who stand upon the ground of the creeds of the Reformation.

“STAHL, HOFFMANN, NITZSCH, HENGSTENBERG.

“To Dr. Steane in London.”

In the Preface to the Evangelical Gazette of this year, Hengstenberg declares more plainly than ever his opposition to the Reformed views, and says that he first became dissatisfied with the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The description which we have given of the character of these New Lutherans is confirmed, among others, by *Dr. Tholuck* and *Dr. Thiersch*. The former, in his printed sermon which was delivered at the celebration of the Reformation, contrasts the effective

preaching of the Old with that of the New Lutherans: "And now, already believing, warm, and zealous witnesses of the word are also standing in no small numbers,—but where do we hear that the spiritually dead arise under their preaching? The great multitude are not drawn into the Church, and if they perchance enter it, they remain cold and dumb." The latter, in his Preface to Böhm's *Shade and Light*, remarks: "Of what avail is the 'positive tendency' of the younger clergy? Adopted by most of them without the sincere fruits of repentance, they are like the house built upon the sand, that could not withstand the flood, and whose 'fall was great.' Who can estimate the mass of conscious and unconscious hypocrisy to which the present generation is misled by the tendency adopted and favored by the rulers! It is a dangerous delusion of some conservatives, who consider that the revolution is overcome for centuries. No, with pain be it spoken, the modern Orthodoxy—the best productions of which boast that they have come back exactly to the position of Luther or Melancthon—stands no higher than the Old. On the contrary," &c. Well has it been said, in reference to those who rely upon the police more than on the Holy Spirit to draw men into the churches, that, if Jesus was unwilling to pray for legions of angels, much less would he have desired for his Church legions of constables and *gens d'armes*.

In the midst of this lamentable state of things, it is with real pleasure that we mention the stirring book of *Chevalier Bunsen*, entitled "The Signs of the Times," which consists of letters in defence of liberty of conscience, and the appearance of which has prevented the continuation of our own articles,—“for what can a man do, that cometh after the king?” The three editions which were successively called for within the space of a few weeks, show that these were words fitly spoken,—really apples of gold in pictures of silver. Leo at once denounced the book and the doctrine in the New Prussian Gazette, maintaining that it was altogether false to speak in general terms of liberty of conscience, for men must first have an “enlightened” conscience,—the same argument that was used in defence of the Fugitive Slave Law! Stahl, in a separate reply, accused

Bunsen of "praising Channing as the most noble and enlightened of the anti-Trinitarians or anti-Athanasians." Hengstenberg, and the People's Paper (a misnomer), with their train, joined in the cry, for they could not endure a man *nullum servitii signum cervice gerentem*. The book was even condemned from the pulpits of Berlin; the strict Union theologians, who wish only liberty enough for the Union, silently disapproved it, *Dorner* being the only one who had the moral courage to defend it. And thus it has happened, that an effort, which in England and America would have been hailed with gratitude by every good man, is regarded only with suspicion by the religious men here,—the absolutism of the State, and the subserviency of the Church to the temporal power, having so stifled their instincts for religious liberty, that they neither love nor desire it. How different was the language of Lord Brougham (who wishes to abolish even the Act of Toleration), as we heard him support the bill for Religious Worship presented by the Earl of Shaftesbury: "I want to see the government take several more steps in this direction, until every vestige of oppression be blotted from the statute-book." But it really seems to be the height of the ridiculous when Stahl, whose work heaps so much scorn upon Locke, and Milton, and Jefferson, reserves for himself the right of an English translation! Verily, in reply to such religious despots, we can only say, in the words of Tertullian, *Non est religionis cogere religionem*; and to those traditionists, whether in the Old World or in the New, who cling to the dead letter of their effete formulas, we would repeat the maxim of Augustine, *Cedat consuetudo veritati*.

E. J. Y.

ART. IV.—PEACEFUL TREATMENT OF SLAVERY.

THE public mind of the North is in a state of unusual excitement, not unnaturally nor unreasonably, for events of an unexpected and disreputable character have recently produced their natural effects, stimulating men to

violence, and giving prudent persons reason for painful anticipations as to the result of institutions which require and presuppose a great deal of calmness and wisdom on the part of those who are to maintain them. Republics, even representative republics, are not self-sustaining institutions; they simply organize the force of men who are capable, and in the habit, of self-government, and afford to such men the means or organizations for resisting external attacks, leaving to those who constitute the state the care of guarding themselves from mistakes, excitements, rashness, and ignorance. If any disturbance of regular functions occur, there is neither safeguard against popular disorder, nor means of cure, other than calm reflection, and the firm action which naturally ensues upon adequate deliberation. It does not necessarily follow, that because the people govern themselves, therefore they will be wise, and govern themselves well. It only follows that they are adequately secured against some of the forms of tyranny which have been but too frequent in the world, and all of which should be averted, if it be within the power of human nature to ward them off. As the perversion of the best things constitutes, according to the proverb, the very worst condition, the better the form of government, the more disastrous will be the consequences of its failure; and every motive is appealed to, which can operate upon reasonable minds, to preserve in efficiency the institutions of which experience has shown us the advantages. We know from the past what we gain by adhering to what has been established; we do not know the benefits to be derived from change; and it is, therefore, only when existing evils become unendurable, and when we see our future path tolerably clear from threats of worse than we now suffer, that we are justified in hazarding a change.

There is something of sublimity in the fact that millions of men can be put into a state of extreme excitement by the violent and ignoble act of an individual; and though it may create a certain feeling of pride in the assailant, yet, if he knew the character of the comments upon his conduct by the great majority of judicious persons, he would feel a mortification for which there could be no possible compensation. There is

something still more sublime in the recovery of millions of people from such sudden and violent excitement, and in the spectacle they may present of calm firmness and dignified self-respect. If they perceive the effect of composure upon themselves and others, they will certainly exhibit it, recollecting that it is always early enough to resort to force and violence, when all other means of redress have been found ineffectual. But calmness under difficulties or provocations is not the fashion of to-day. We are expected, even required, by the prevalent tone of feeling, to be prompt, vehement, *spirited*, as it is called; that is, ready at all times to assert our rights, and maintain them. And undoubtedly it is proper and necessary to maintain rights. The question is as to the best mode of doing it; whether we should be always talking about them, and proclaiming our readiness to assert them, or whether we should say little, and act whenever necessary or expedient. Excitable, ardent people, and those who are ambitious to be first in the path which the public are taking, are apt to adopt the course which will attract attention to themselves, as if they really were what they attempt to appear to be, leaders of the public mind. And they generally succeed, not in being leaders for any length of time, but in showing their own want of ability to lead aright; and they are compelled to fall back into the ranks of followers, or at least to cease to mislead. Such men do mischief, both by stimulating others to the pursuit of the wrong object, and by drawing them away from those objects which are the more important.

But there is another class of aspirants who are more adroit and more dangerous,—those who pursue plans, or induce the people to pursue plans, which are in themselves desirable and praiseworthy, without proper regard to the character of the means they employ, or the time and place for using them. These men pursue their aims, or rather the aims of those who stand beside or behind them, without regard to the expediency or wisdom of the means they take to accomplish their plans, and brand with the nickname of timeservers and dough-faces those who think that the way in which a good is sought is an object greatly to be considered in the attainment of that good. Such persons are not to be

satisfied with a reform, unless they are the apparent means of effecting it; and they are much less zealous for the good to be attained, than for the effect they may produce as the instruments in attaining it. Above all, they are for effecting results by the strength of their right arm, and showing the world that but for them such good ends would never have been produced. This is their weak point. They would rather not have the result, than that it should be produced by other aid than theirs; and how often have we seen such men turn round and oppose what they have themselves recommended and urged, merely because it has fallen into other hands, and they cannot have the glory of success, and are therefore determined others shall not attain it, if they can prevent it. It is needless to say to those who think upon public events and public men, that the patriotism to which such persons lay claim is a hollow pretence; that the appearance of it is only assumed as a necessary means to gain their selfish ends; that there is no greater danger to real liberty than that which arises from the reckless, unprincipled bids for popularity which they are always ready to make. The great security for this nation from the machinations of such pretenders is the want of comprehensiveness in their views. They always appeal to the interests or feelings of a part of the people; and their patriotism consists in endeavoring, or apparently endeavoring, to promote the interests of a portion at the expense of the rest. We have not yet learned the lesson taught by the conduct of the Athenians, who rejected a profitable measure proposed by Themistocles, because Aristides pronounced it unjust. We undertake, too often, to balance one injustice by another on the opposite side, and we are therefore perpetually in a state of imperfect equilibrium. Our tariffs are an exemplification of this course of proceeding. We have thought it necessary, or advisable, sometimes, to protect a branch of industry; when two or three others that had been overlooked suddenly start up, and claim the advantage of similar consideration, and it becomes impossible to do the one thing without the other, and thus all is complicated to such a degree, that the only escape out of confusion is a tariff of uniform rates on all articles that are taxed at all. There are other matters, how-

ever, in which the habits and feelings of different portions of the country are so radically unlike, that no compromise of practice can be effected, and each must be left to do that which is right in its own eyes, and get out of its difficulties in the best way it can. Of these, slavery is the great, engrossing subject. The change of opinion in relation to it, among the mass of mankind, within comparatively a few years, has been marked and indisputable. Fifty years ago there were few in any country, and a hundred years ago there were almost none, who thought it wrong to hold men in bondage. The opinions and the practice of mankind from the days of the patriarchs, through the eras of ancient and modern civilization to our own time, had been uniform and unbroken in favor of slavery. Suddenly the lights of knowledge, of religion, and of our own national precepts and doctrines, burst upon the minds of men with new clearness and force, and the inconsistency of the prevalence of slavery, both with the fundamental dogmas of our political faith and those of our religion, became too evident to be any longer overlooked or disregarded. What was to be done? That was a question which was answered by the different parts of the nation according as they were free from the practice and the evils of slavery, or not. Those who were zealous, and eager to distinguish themselves as philanthropists by compelling others to act with disinterested regard to the natural rights of men, were for immediate emancipation of all slaves at once, without regard to consequences either to themselves or others, blacks or whites; and at the same time without consideration of the previous question, whether they had any right to emancipate other people's slaves. This vehemence and haste could have no other effect than precisely that which has happened, to stimulate the slaveholder to defend his position the best way he could,—to speak of it first as a divine institution, secondly as a beneficent institution to the inferior class, giving them claims on the master they could not otherwise have, and thirdly as a necessary institution, wherever the two classes, blacks and whites, are intermingled. To this is added the assertion, that emancipation is impossible, if it were ever so desirable; that if the master could subsist without the slave, the

slave could not subsist without the master; and hence emancipation would merely be the consigning of the slave to destruction. If it be possible for the arguments on the one side to exceed those on the other in extravagance and ignorance of human nature, whether black or white, in contented arrogance and dulness, in irreverence to God and injustice to man, we have, at least, never seen a more flagrant exemplification of these qualities. Immediate emancipation would, in our judgment, produce more misery than slavery itself, not merely to the slave, but to the superior race. It would simply involve the whole population, bond and free, in one hopeless and mutual degradation. It is obvious to every one of moderate discernment, that warfare of the most hideous description would pervade the whole country, not merely the present Slave States, but all into which the negro could flee. Everywhere he would be proscribed, and everywhere he would revenge himself. No imagination could depict the horrors that would be enacted. What then is to be done? Are we to sit down in submission to the arguments or the violence of the slaveholder, and do nothing? Are we to let these evils of slavery increase and multiply, till they shall be utterly beyond alleviation? No, certainly not. But we are to use means that may have some effect, and not those which will surely have none, unless it be to strengthen the evil we seek to eradicate. We are not to overcome evil with evil, but with good. This, indeed, is the only way to conquer it effectually; and so long as we say to our brother, "Stand aside, I am holier than thou," so long as we undertake to serve God as if the Devil was in us, so long we shall fail to accomplish the object of our painful struggles. If we will put only a small portion of the zeal and energy we have shown in the pursuit of victory in the political struggle, into the calmer effort to free ourselves from moral guilt, economical paradox, and political inconsistency, we shall accomplish the object with much greater ease than if we set ourselves to work to carry our purpose by force, — brute force, — as it is the fashion now-a-days to call physical effort. Mere force of any sort, force of numbers, or of votes, or of anything but conviction, produces only contention and misery. Any power of a majority, unaccompanied by the power

of reason which satisfies the understanding, and coincides with the feeling, is as tyrannical and out of place in the present age and in our country, as the power of the Inquisition or of the Emperor of Russia. The exercise of such arbitrary power by any legislature is as likely to produce resistance, as if it were practised by an autocrat. Men's minds must be convinced that the reason and the effect of a law is not only good, but necessary, before they submit to it willingly, or before they will submit to it at all in this country. Above all is it desirable that laws should not be enacted by one class of society against another, which is equal or nearly equal in numbers and influence. They cannot be made effectual if enacted against a particular section of the state. A law of Massachusetts against a peculiar custom or fashion in Berkshire or Barnstable county alone, would be worth the bleached rags on which it was printed, and nothing more. It would be of less value still, if possible, if passed by the votes of six out of the eleven counties represented in the Legislature. So must be a law, if such a thing be conceivable, passed by the votes of sixteen States out of thirty-one. A majority of one is not a "working majority," in a legislature consisting of as many distinct constituencies as our Congress. There must be something like unanimity of opinion, before there can be action upon any such important subject involving life and property.

And how can unanimity of opinion, on the subject of slavery, be produced among well-disposed people? This is not so difficult a problem as it would seem at the first glance. Among slaveholders there are thousands who have long been convinced by bitter experience of the evils of slavery, and who do not need taunts and reproaches to make them willing to adopt any practicable remedy for the appalling calamity. The influence of such men, who are, of course, among the thinking, the wise men of the South, would be immense, if it could be left to the natural effects of intelligence and sympathy; and if an alliance between them and men of equal intelligence and liberality of mind and feeling at the North could be brought about, one great step would be taken towards a peaceful settlement of this tremendous question. Why can it not? We doubt not that,

if appropriate measures were adopted, — not in Congress nor in State Legislatures, but in private circles, — something might be done, which certainly has not yet been attempted, or thought of; something at least might be begun, having this most noble and patriotic end in view, the agreement of the two parties on this subject in a common course of action. Was there ever a subject more worthy of a lofty ambition? Was ever one environed with greater difficulties and dangers? Was there ever a subject upon the final settlement of which greater interests, or greater results, were dependent? Let no man say it is impossible to settle it. Our discussions and quarrels about it prove that we do not in reality think so. If we did, we should cease to discuss it. It requires no great wisdom to perceive what would be the remedy for the evils we suffer, and the greater evils we apprehend. It is the removal of the subject of dispute. The black man is not indigenous on this continent. He has been imported, and though he has flourished and multiplied, as a separate race, the symptoms of final amalgamation and absorption in the white race are still so faint, that there is no prospect of final union; but probably the one race will continue to be as foreign to the other through all time as they have hitherto been. The experiment has been tried long enough, one would think. For ten or twelve generations the races have been joined, but not mingled. Inter-marriage between them has been and is considered degrading and disgusting, and is certainly not countenanced generally by the respectable classes of either side. Whom God hath separated, let not man join together. The attempt to do so only recoils with just retribution upon those who make it. But admitting all this to be true, how are we to rid ourselves of the subject of controversy, the negro himself? He has grown up among us, and has become, if not indigenous, acclimated. He has become, if not our equal, at least greatly superior to the original specimen of his race on its own continent; and if he returns thither, he carries with him the civilization and superiority acquired here. Liberia seems, if we may presume to interpret the handwriting upon two great continents, to have been arranged by Providence as a school for the spread of light and Christianity into a region that seems

otherwise doomed to the thickest darkness, and the most degraded paganism. But this process cannot be forced, in the way that men often, if not usually, attempt to carry out any project. We cannot say to the blacks universally, You *shall* go in such or such a manner, or in such a time. We are not prepared for such a procedure, nor are they. But we are prepared to say to all who are disposed to recover a home where their race originated, We will help you to try the experiment. We have said so; the experiment has been tried, and has succeeded partially. We have only to exert ourselves, and to stimulate them to further effort of the same sort. The greatest difficulty has been overcome, the first step has been taken, and if we were ready to say we will help every one disposed to go, we should find constantly increasing numbers disposed to enter upon the new career opened in the land of their nativity. This is no conjecture, no guess-work. Experience can already be appealed to, to prove the readiness with which facilities, if offered, would be accepted by numbers sufficient to show the object not an idle speculation. Every white man who has visited Liberia reports it flourishing in every respect, wanting nothing so much as numbers of tolerably enlightened descendants of the very same barbarous tribes who have thus far annoyed the infant settlement, but who are every day leaving the field more and more open to civilization and progress. And if there is hope for them in the land of their origin, what is there here to prevent the trial of the experiment? The lands cultivated by slave labor in the more northern Slave States have been almost worn out by the process. The white inhabitants have been greatly impoverished, both by the quality of slave labor, and by the habits generated by the owning of slaves. The evil is reciprocal, and if the South is to be restored to its ancient wealth and consideration, the first step must be the abandonment of slave labor, and the encouragement of free labor. If this can be made as evident to the planter, as it is to every observer who is not a planter throughout the civilized world, the evil is overcome. The physical difficulties are as nothing compared with the difficulties arising from habit, conviction, determination. Men are not to be interrupted in their course

by the interference of others. We do not ask it. We know they are not. But we do ask them to think for themselves, and to act upon their own convictions. How many slaveholders wish now that their lands were cultivated by freemen, who would not look to them for support! How many would sell a part, if they could be sure of better labor to help them cultivate the remainder! How many would have new life put into them, if they could find a way to be rid of this vampire which has almost exhausted the very blood in their veins! The more northern Slave States have long ago shown that they were satisfied of some of the truths which have been intimated, and have been deterred from declaring and acting upon the conviction by nothing but the indiscriminating crusade against them at the North. That crusade has produced only alienation and aversion. Is it not time to try something else? Is it not time to try what can be effected by sympathy and conciliation? Of one thing we may be well assured, the course of vituperation and jealousy has been tried to the utmost, without the slightest effect or tendency to produce an effect. If it were only from weariness of it, we should be glad of some other mode of proceeding; and that other mode is to offer our aid to all who are desirous of escaping from the appalling evils to themselves and their posterity, and to us and our posterity, which must arise from the indefinite continuance of negro slavery in this land of the free. Let it not be said we have nothing to do with the consequences. We have a vast deal to do with them. Is this Union to be dissolved without injury to us? If slavery is removed, shall we not participate in the benefit of its removal? Certainly we have a vast deal to do with the improvement of the States which would be immediately benefited. Without that element in our national composition, should we not all stand stronger and firmer? Who can doubt that one race, occupying the territory from Maine to Texas and California, would be more consolidated and more powerful than two are now?

As for the argument so common at the South, that the labor of the country would be destroyed, that the negro is the only person fit for the necessary employments at the South, we will not say with what precise degree of

respect we look upon the assertion. It is enough for us that white men do labor in similar climates, and therefore that there is no physical obstacle here. As well might the mariner say it was impossible to cross the line, that sailors would be utterly exhausted by the perpetual heat of the tropics, and could not work the ship. As well might it be urged that the slave-trade was impossible to the white man, because of the climate of Africa. The white man, as a matter of fact, does stand every climate that he has thoroughly tried, and there is nothing to prevent his laboring as well in Carolina or in Mississippi as in Southern Europe. There is nothing but the presence of the negro which prevents thousands of the immigrants from Europe settling now in the Southern States; and the place of the black man would speedily be supplied by better hands and more intelligent heads. The emigration of free labor and Northern thrift into Southern territory would revive the drooping energy of the cultivator, as well as the exhausted fertility of the soil; and would not better crops and better prices, as well for land as for its products, and his freedom from the care of his slave, compensate the proprietor for the involuntary labor now obtained? We cannot but believe that there are some — yes, that there are many — slaveholders to whom these considerations are familiar, and who are deterred from expressing them only by the external pressure to which no man of energetic and resolute spirit can submit. We are pursuing a wrong method to produce what we desire. It is a course anything but Christian, anything but wise. Taunting, reproaching men with their misfortunes or misdeeds, is not the way to improve either their character or their condition. A kind, a sympathizing spirit will do more in a brief period, than all the vehement, reproaching speeches that could be made in Congress for centuries. In fact, it is evident to every one who knows even but little of human nature, that we have not hitherto taken any steps towards the professed object of our wishes. We have blown a blast with all the violence of a Northern gale, but have not tried the efficacy of the genial light and heat of a kindly spirit. Let us not give up the cause without an effort in this direction. It is our interest, as well as our duty, to retain the friendship of our associates,

if it be possible; at all events, to avoid giving reasonable ground of offence by our words or our acts. Have we done this? Are we blameless in this matter? If there is any reason to believe that we have not hitherto pursued the wisest course, that we have not yet devised the wisest means of accomplishing a beneficent end, let us correct our mistakes, and mend our own ways, without reproaching others for faults which are in some measure shared by ourselves.

S. A. E.

ART. V.—GILLISS'S EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.*

THESE volumes furnish new evidence of the zeal, energy, and good judgment which have been exhibited by our naval and military officers in the prosecution of the various scientific inquiries authorized by the wise liberality of the general government. Of the expeditions thus undertaken, not one has produced richer and more varied fruits than the astronomical expedition to South America, a portion of the results of which are classified and described in the volumes now on our table. Both in its inception and management, it reflects credit upon the distinguished officer intrusted with its superintendence, and it will add much to the reputation which he had already acquired at home and abroad. But before proceeding to lay before our readers a brief notice of Lieutenant Gilliss's labors, it may be proper to give some account of the origin of the expedition which is so entirely identified with him.

* 33d Congress, 1st Session. House of Representatives. Executive Document No. 121. — *The U. S. Naval Astronomical Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere, during the Years 1849, -50, -51, -52.* LIEUT. J. M. GILLISS, Superintendent. Vol. I. *Chile: its Geography, Climate, Earthquakes, Government, Social Condition, Mineral and Agricultural Resources, Commerce, &c., &c.* By LIEUT. J. M. GILLISS, A. M. Vol. II. *The Andes and Pampas.* By LIEUT. ARCHIBALD MAC RAE; *Minerals*, J. LAWRENCE SMITH; *Indian Remains*, THOMAS EWBANK; *Mammals*, SPENCER F. BAIRD; *Birds*, JOHN CASSIN; *Reptiles, Fishes, and Crustacea*, CHARLES GIRARD; *Shells*, A. A. GOULD; *Dried Plants*, ASA GRAY; *Living Plants and Seeds*, WILLIAM D. BRACKENRIDGE; *Fossil Mammals*, JEFFRIES WYMAN; *Fossil Shells*, T. A. CONRAD. Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, Printer. 1855. 4to. pp. 556, 300.

In the summer of 1847, Dr. C. L. Gerling, of the University of Marburg, in Germany, proposed to Lieutenant Gilliss a new method for determining the sun's parallax, "by observations of Venus during the period of its retrograde motion, and more especially when the planet is stationary." Lieutenant Gilliss was at once favorably impressed with his friend's suggestion, and having devised a plan for a series of observations to be made at Washington and at some point in South America upon nearly the same meridian, he communicated his views to several scientific gentlemen, and to the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His plan was examined and approved by both of these learned bodies, and resolutions in favor of its execution were adopted by them, and were transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Navy in the spring of 1848. In the following August Congress granted an appropriation of "five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary," for the purpose of making the proposed observations.

Under the authority of this act Lieutenant Gilliss was appointed superintendent of the expedition; and, after procuring the necessary instruments and making other preliminary arrangements, he sailed from New York for Panama on the 16th of August, 1849. Upon reaching the Isthmus, he was detained nearly a month before he could proceed to the field of his operations; but much of this vexatious delay was offset by his singular activity and promptitude after his arrival in Chile. He landed at Valparaiso on the afternoon of the 25th of October, and the same night started for Santiago, which had been previously selected as a convenient place for the erection of the observatory. The first building was completed with so much despatch as to be ready to receive its instrument on the 5th of December; and five days later, observations were commenced on the planet Mars. "During that season the weather was exceedingly favorable for observations. Of the fifty-two pre-appointed nights remaining of the series, there were only four when no observations could be made, and two others when a slight haze obscured the very minute comparing-star in the illuminated telescope." During this period nearly fourteen hundred

observations of this planet were made ; and this zealous and unwearied prosecution of his labors was continued until his return to this country in the autumn of 1852. Numerous observations of Venus and the other planets were also made ; and he likewise "obtained thirty-three thousand and six hundred observations of some twenty-three thousand stars, more than twenty thousand of them never previously tabulated." But Lieutenant Gilliss did not confine himself to astronomical observations. He also conducted a series of meteorological and magnetic observations ; and during his protracted residence in Chile he collected a great amount of information in regard to the social, political, and industrial condition of the country. Nor are the important contributions to the physical and natural sciences which we owe to his labors less deserving of notice. From whatever point of view we may consider his labors, it will be universally admitted that he has rendered important services to science ; and that his researches are alike creditable to himself and to this government. But the remarks which we design to offer upon his work will be confined to the subjects of most interest to general readers.

In his first chapter our author gives a very minute and elaborate description of the geography of Chile, containing much new and curious information, and opening many interesting questions. Thus, in speaking of the rivers of Chile, he tells us : —

"Critical examination of their margins shows that the water-courses were once deep streams, susceptible of being navigated by vessels of the largest class. Indeed, the fact is demonstrable by geologists, that they were inlets or arms of the sea, into which melted snows and overflowing lakes in the mountains first discharged their waters. Then, as the continent rose higher and higher, winding brooks, accumulating in volume with each succeeding age, became the torrents that we now see them. From time to time sliding glaciers undermine rocks, and earthquakes dam up channels, until the heaped-up body of water bears everything before it, not unfrequently on its swollen tide transporting boulders of many tons' weight to localities far away from analogous rocks. At these epochs fields are submerged by the destroying element ; the course of the river is changed ; and when an affrighted populace return to the sites of former homes, it is only to weep over garden spots irrecoverably buried beneath gravel and sand deposited by the deluge. One such scene oc-

curred on the Cachapual only a few years since, painfully proving how rapidly beds of shingle may be formed, and forcibly exhibiting the abrading powers of water. Even on ordinary occasions the noise of stones striking together beneath the surface, as they are borne along by the current, comes most audibly to the ear above the rushing sound of the stream over its rocky bed. How fearful, then, the spectacle during such storms as constantly occur in winter,* when this vast sloping water-shed, saturated by continuous rains, pours all that descends upon it into the narrow ravines! Every one along which I have travelled — the Copiapó, Mapocho, Maypu, Cachapual, and Maule — has its high-bounding terraces, at irregular distances, in whose vertical cliffs the running streams have left unmistakable marks, sometimes more elevated than beds of fossil vegetation forming a part of them. That some of these changes have taken place recently, there seems little reason to doubt; for Molina tells us the Maule was navigable for half its length at his day (1787) by ships of the line, and there still lived, in 1850, a native of Coquimbo, whose memory extended to the time when the sea beat against the terrace on which Serena now stands. Now the base of the terrace is twenty-five feet above the ocean, and quite a mile from it, and the Maule has not six feet of water at five miles from its mouth." — Vol. I. pp. 18, 19.

In another part of this chapter Lieutenant Gilliss offers some suggestive remarks on the early colonization of the country, and the policy which prevailed in the selection of sites for the principal towns.

"Even Valparaiso, the *entrepôt* for all the agricultural products supplied to the coasts of Bolivia and Peru," he says, "remained an insignificant town, inhabited principally by agents whose employers resided at Santiago, until the first quarter of the present century had passed. As late as 1820 not even good blacksmiths were to be found at Valparaiso, and those who built houses there were obliged to resort to the capital for such iron-work as they needed; nor is it yet fifteen years since government transferred the principal custom-house from the centre of the republic to the sea-shore. From that moment a new impetus was given [to] commercial life at the port; merchants deserted the capital, property rapidly increased in value, new streets were opened, more elegant and commodious houses arose in every direction; and now, beyond dispute, Valparaiso is the greatest city bathed by the waters of the Pacific." — Vol. I. p. 28.

* "Five inches of rain fell at Santiago during twenty-four hours, ending July 24, 1851, and more than three inches on the day following."

The second chapter treats of the Political Divisions and Distribution of Industrial Resources, and contains several valuable statistical tables. The country, we are told, is divided into thirteen provinces, which are again subdivided into departments, sub-delegations, and districts. Over each of these is a magistrate dependent on the sole will of the President. According to the official census published in October, 1854, the population amounted to only 1,435,521; but this is exclusive, we presume, of the tribes of Indians not subject to the government, and numbering about 25,000 persons. The foreign and domestic trade are both insignificant in value, — the foreign exports amounting in 1851 to only \$ 12,146,391 in value, and the imports to \$ 15,884,972. About one quarter part of the foreign trade is with the United States. The principal exports are flour, timber, copper, and wool. The imports are chiefly sugar, tobacco, woollen shawls, cotton goods, and other coarse manufactured articles. Hitherto few attempts have been made to develop the natural resources of the country; but there are indications that a more far-sighted policy will be pursued in future. With the continuance of domestic tranquillity, and the successful completion of the public works already planned, it should seem that Chile can hardly fail to give evidence of a rapid and healthy growth.

The third and fourth chapters are devoted to a brief account of the climate, and an historical and theoretical discussion of the subject of earthquakes, with a full description of those which took place during the author's residence in the country. Both of these chapters exhibit careful research, and contain much new and useful information. Of the climate of Chile our author does not speak as favorably as do some other writers. He admits, indeed, that the changes of the seasons are perceptibly marked, without those extremes, however, which we experience in New England, "and there is a genial uniformity, most grateful to the corporeal frame, throughout the year." But he adduces good evidence to show that the climate is not healthful, and that the inhabitants rarely reach an advanced age. "Active as the members of our small party were compelled to be," he says, "and exposed, as we often were, to the severest

cold ever known at Santiago, three years' residence made a sensible impression even on us; and another like period would probably have gone far towards imbuing us with the national trait, — apathy." * His remarks on the principal earthquakes which have been noticed in Chile are remarkably full and exact, and must contribute not a little to the satisfactory elucidation of their various phenomena.

The next three chapters relate to the Government, Society, and the Church and its Ceremonies. The rights of citizenship are restricted to natives of the country, to children born during the temporary residence of their parents abroad, and to persons naturalized by a special act of Congress, or after a residence in the republic for a specified length of time. Every male citizen twenty-five years of age, who can read and write, and possesses a certain amount of property, as determined by each province once in ten years, possesses the right of suffrage, and is eligible to the minor offices. For the more important stations, an additional property qualification is required. The legislative power is vested in a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The Senate is composed of twenty members chosen for nine years, of whom one third vacate their seats at the commencement of each Congress. The Deputies are chosen for three years, and are fifty-six in number. "Only those members of either house," as our author informs us, "who reside without the capital, receive compensation; and as nearly all of both houses are citizens of Santiago, the government is at no great expense on account of its legislators." † The houses usually sit on alternate days, and their powers are similar to those vested in the Congress of the United States. But the authority of the President differs in some important respects from the authority granted to our own President, or actually wielded by him.

"The chief magistrate," we are told, "is declared to be the supreme head of the nation, and his authority extends to everything which has for its object the preservation of public order within the republic, as well as its external security. He is required to take part in forming laws, and to give his sanction to or disapprove them; to attend carefully to the administration

* Vol. I. p. 78.

† Vol. I. p. 130.

of justice and the ministerial department of judges. He may prorogue ordinary sessions of Congress for fifty days, and, by consent of the Council of State, may at any time call an extra session. With the approbation of the Council, he proposes such laws to Congress as he deems necessary, and has the privilege of returning any act to which he objects, either wholly rejected, or with such modifications as meet his views. He can appoint and remove at will his cabinet ministers, diplomatic and consular agents, intendentes and other officers of the provinces, and the officers of the national guard; but, whilst giving him power to nominate all other officers, the Senate or Council of State have a voice in their appointment; and once confirmed, their removal can only be effected by trial for malfeasance, and conviction. In other respects his powers are analogous to those intrusted by the Constitution of the United States to their President,—he of Chile also being required to present to the Congress an annual report on the condition of affairs both foreign and domestic.” — Vol. I. p. 133.

The Council of State is composed of thirteen persons, including four cabinet ministers, two members of the supreme court, a titled ecclesiastic, and a general of the army or navy. They are appointed and removed by the sole act of the President, and are required to advise him upon all matters on which he may request their opinions. The judicial power is vested in primary courts, three courts of appeal, and a supreme court. There are also commercial and ecclesiastical courts and a mixed commission, established under a treaty relating to the slave-trade made with England in 1839. Slavery is prohibited throughout the country, and no native or foreigner resident in Chile is permitted to engage in the slave-trade. The annual expenses of the government are about four millions of dollars; and the revenue amounts to about the same sum. The public debt on the 1st of August, 1851, was \$9,155,975, the interest of which had been regularly paid for many years.

Of the state of society our author gives a curious and interesting picture, though not a very favorable one. The women are described as much superior to the men in intelligence and the courtesies of life. Between the sexes there is comparatively little social intercourse; nor do the gentlemen show that respect for the other sex to which they are deemed entitled with us. Marriages are generally arranged by the parents, and often with-

out consulting the persons most interested. A close watch is kept over the girls by their mothers; and "if the daughter lives at home, from the time she attains ten years of age the mother must daily accompany her to and from school, or she must be sent with a well-trying servant in a close carriage. Even brothers are not always trusted with this responsibility." * Yet public morality is at a low ebb. In speaking of the young men, Lieutenant Gilliss remarks: —

"Originally the basis of education imparted is good; unfortunately, it is almost wholly theoretical. The means of communicating experimental knowledge, so necessary to enlist the mind in its subsequent prosecution, have not hitherto existed to any considerable extent; and it is only very recently that there have been men in Chile competent to teach the elementary branches of physical science. Even yet much is wanting to place the schools on a level with those of Europe or North America; and thus, for want of proper apparatus and tutors, a young man takes his leave of school just when he has received an amount of information which would elsewhere make him feel the necessity of study. There are neither engineers, chemists, machinists, nor architects by profession. Neither is there any pursuit a young man can follow which renders further application to books necessary, except in preparation for the practice of law or medicine; and when it is stated that the whole number of licentiates for both these professions from 1843 to 1849 was only 143, an estimate may be formed of the demand for mental application. Therefore, with the college they also take leave of books, become clerks in the houses of merchants or retailers, and the knowledge which was at first but superficial is soon forgotten. Others enter the convents, adding to the drones of the population; a small number obtain places under government; and a few embark in mining, though not, as do the Californians, with their own hands, for personal labor is considered degrading. Want of occupation, encouraged by the climate, soon confirms a habit of indolence where there is no mental energy to shake it off; and in a brief while the youth who might have become a man of ability and enterprise falls irreclaimably into idleness and listlessness. Societies for the promotion of science, literature, the professions or arts, so beneficial in the dissemination of knowledge, and so productive of laudable emulation in the world of letters, have no existence here; and the rendezvous of the young men becomes, instead, the tailor's shop, where

* Vol. I. p. 150.

the fashions are discussed, and the public promenade or parlor, where they can display ultra-fine dresses. Conversation with young ladies is not general, as has just been remarked. If they attempt it with any not of their own sex, it is with the mothers, thus voluntarily avoiding intercourse which could not fail in leading to mental improvement, and preparing for more rational domestic life. Neglected by those whom she knows to be inferior in mental as in moral worth, yet whom Nature has assigned as her companions through life, — bitterly sensible that she will scarcely be permitted the privilege of selection among them, but must take as a husband him whom her parents consider most suitable, — the girl soon thinks with indifference and apathy of the abilities of the beaux surrounding her, and learns to value them by the contents of their coffers rather than by their characters or talents." — Vol. I. p. 151.

Romanism is the established religion in Chile, and by the Constitution of the Republic the public exercise of any other faith is forbidden. The bigotry thus sanctioned by law has largely impressed itself on the public character. Until recently, Protestants were not permitted "to occupy a chapel in which they might worship God as had been taught them by their fathers, or to possess a piece of ground in which to deposit the remains of mortality."* But since they have become numerous, and it has ceased to be prudent to insist on a literal interpretation of the fundamental law, a more liberal construction has been given to it. They have been allowed to obtain a burial-place at Valparaiso; and some years since they were informed that, "so long as their chapel and worship were without the external evidences which the words 'public exercise' seemed to imply," they should be protected by the government.† Still the Romish Church possesses almost undiminished influence and wealth in the country; and its rites are celebrated with all the pomp and splendor, and with the arrogant disregard of the scruples of others, which it exhibits whenever it is the dominant religious power.

Following the chapter on the Church we have four chapters descriptive of Santiago, Valparaiso, the Provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo, and the Mineral Springs of the country. Santiago is the capital, and contains about 90,000 inhabitants. Its houses are most-

* Vol. I. p. 154.

† Ibid.

ly built of adobes, or sun-burnt bricks, are only one story in height, and with scarcely any attempt at architectural display. Within a few years, however, there has been a considerable improvement in the houses. Some of the public buildings are substantial and handsome edifices. Among the most conspicuous are the Mint, the Palace, the Cathedral, and several of the parish churches. There are also in the city a University, which was reorganized in 1842, the National Library, containing about 21,000 volumes, and numerous hospitals and convents. Valparaiso is the principal commercial city in Chile, and numbers about 35,000 inhabitants. But its harbor is very much inferior to some of the other harbors on the coast, and Lieutenant Gilliss expresses strong doubts whether the city is likely to grow as rapidly in future as it has done in the last few years. Of the mining districts in the provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo our author has given a very full account, embodying many valuable statistics; and the account of the various mineral springs also contains much useful information.

The twelfth and thirteenth chapters are devoted to an historical sketch of the presidential election of 1851, and the events immediately following it, illustrated by official documents, and minutely detailing the progress of the revolutionary struggle which took place upon the defeat of the liberal party. The picture of the political condition of the country here presented is certainly not an encouraging one, and must strengthen the doubt whether the people of any of the Spanish American states are fitted for self-government, or indeed whether any country where Romanism largely prevails can be a free country.

The next two chapters contain an account of a visit to the hacienda of a friend not far from Santiago, with a summary of the information gathered during successive visits to the same place, and an account of a subsequent journey to the more southern part of the country. From the second of these chapters we extract a description of the scenery on the river Claro.

“On a triangular terrace or plateau, at the immediate base of a hill that rises nearly a thousand feet above it, and which terminates in a vertical cliff over the river, the mineral waters

of Cauquenes are found; and here houses have been built for the use of invalids. The plateau will measure about three acres. Within a few hundred yards, up the stream, a somewhat similar hill to the one back of the springs rises to nearly the same height; and between the two there is a deep quebrada with a rivulet of clear snow-water. Opposite the up-stream hill, on the other side of the river, there are other small terraces, behind which rise series of steep mountains also covered with perennial verdure. Between the two hills last mentioned, and whose bases are scarcely 150 yards apart, is the gorge through which the river flows, exhibiting other mountain buttresses close at hand. Their summits are widely enough separated to permit a view of the dreary peaks of the loftiest, and still far off, Andes. Hill beyond hill, as they are arranged, the perspective is so foreshortened that the snow-cliffs seem almost at hand; and about sunset so distinctly are the shadows marked, that one thinks them accessible in a walk of an hour or two; yet an active horseman will be two long days climbing to their crests.

"The terraces are now 150 feet higher than the surface of the river, their faces broken down vertically by its furious and muddy torrent. Just above the baths, the latter is separated into two streams by a pyramidal mass of rock. This has nearly the same height as the plateau, and is connected with the terrace of the springs above the water-line. There is a like pile of rock between it and the north shore, so that the entire volume of water is again collected in a stream not more than ten yards wide. At night, when everything is still, the roar of the waters through this narrow pass is equal to that of the ocean breaking on a lonely beach. So rapid is it, that no one has yet been able to ascertain its depth at this point. Along the bed there are large boulders of granite and limestone, over which the water is forced by its descending momentum, presenting to the sight a surface broken like a miniature sea. Within an oval panorama, scarce a league in its longer diameter, the eye embraces blackened masses of rock, on which fire seems to have exercised its influence but yesterday, tumbled in every possible direction, — sometimes in the streams, sometimes in broad patches of the hills, as though injected through the broken-up surface; now with columnar faces, like basalt where the mountain-tops had been convulsed; again of the size and form of habitations, without their concomitants of human life. In one place there is a dense forest; in another a solitary tree, an arborescent cactus, or a Chañar (Molina, *Puya*), with its gigantic spike of flowerets conspicuous against the blue sky. On one side we see a patch of wild pasture, golden in its decay; opposite, a level and narrow glen, covered with foliage variant only in its hues of green;

above and around there are mountains whose slopes and heights are of every graceful curve and inequality ; and beneath, a milky stream foaming resistlessly through a contracted stony gorge. A landscape, combining more of wild grandeur and picturesque loveliness at the same time can scarcely be imagined. How awful must have been the commotion when the power of the internal fires thrust towards mid-heaven the infinity of separated hills within the compass of vision, and the consternation with which the rush of the pent-up waters would have been beheld, sweeping before them huge rocks that nothing but earthquakes could have moved from their resting-places !” — Vol. I. pp. 397, 398.

The second section of the first volume contains an interesting narrative of the expedition from the time Lieutenant Gilliss left New York until his return, including notices of Panama, Lima, and some other places not described in the chapters to which we have already referred, and also embracing considerable information which could not be easily arranged under the first head. The Appendices contain some important observations of earthquakes, and numerous meteorological observations.

Upon completing the series of observations in Chile, our author instructed his principal assistant, Lieutenant MacRae, to cross the Andes for the purpose of making a further series of magnetic observations, and then return home by the way of Buenos Ayres. “The observations indicated to him,” Lieutenant Gilliss remarks, “were for elevation, latitude, longitude, declination, inclination, and horizontal force of the magnet, and meteorological data, for each three thousand feet elevation ascending the western and descending the eastern slopes of the Andes, and for each hundred miles of longitude between the cities of Mendoza and Buenos Ayres. Other information of a geographical and statistical character was specified, as greatly interesting to numerous classes of our countrymen.”* These instructions were carefully followed by Lieutenant MacRae. But in consequence of injuries which occurred to his instruments, and which it was thought might cast a doubt upon the accuracy of the results obtained, he re-

* Vol. II., Introduction.

turned to the United States to procure new instruments, and subsequently made a second journey across the Andes. A narrative of these two journeys, and numerous tables showing the results of the different observations, fill the first eighty-two pages of the second volume. The remainder of the volume comprises a series of reports upon the specimens in natural history and other interesting objects, brought home by Lieutenant Gilliss, or sent to him since his return. These reports have been very carefully prepared by competent scientific gentlemen, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, and are illustrated by numerous engravings executed in the highest style of the art, and many of them beautifully colored.

We cannot close these remarks without referring to the great injustice which was done to the accomplished officer whose labors we have been considering, by the action of the Naval Board, created by Congress in 1855, for the purpose of revising the Navy List. In virtue of the authority conferred by this law, the Board, after a session of about six weeks, reported that, of seven hundred and twelve officers belonging to the specified grades, two hundred and one were "incapable of performing promptly and efficiently all their duty both ashore and afloat," and recommended that their names should be placed upon the Reserved List. Among the officers thus declared to be "ineligible to further promotion" are Lieutenants Maury and Gilliss. Into the general merits of the controversy which has been waged upon the floor of the Senate in regard to the course followed by the Naval Board, we have no disposition to enter. That controversy has been pursued at needless length. But we do most earnestly protest against a decision which rewards the long-continued, devoted, and important services of such men as Maury and Gilliss by striking their names from the active list of our naval officers. It is discreditable to the country, and dangerous to the real interests of the navy. These officers entered upon the discharge of the scientific duties in which they have been engaged for many years under the authority of Congress and by the express orders of the Navy Department. If the faithful discharge of these duties on shore has incapacitated them

for the discharge of any of their duties at sea, as would seem to be implied, the fault is certainly not theirs. Nor is it probable that Congress contemplated any such interpretation of the act as has been given to it, and by which an attempt is made to justify this and similar decisions of the Board.

C. C. S.

ART. VI.—UNITARIANISM AND ORTHODOXY ON THE SCRIPTURES.

No controversial discussions concerning the doctrines of Scripture can be thoroughly pursued without involving sooner or later an incidental controversy upon the authority of Scripture, and the right principles of its interpretation. At whatever point an issue bearing upon this subject is raised, it leads on step by step to all the questions opened by biblical criticism. The character and composition of the Bible as a whole; the nature of its contents; its age, sources, and authors; its natural and its supernatural, its historical, prophetic, and spiritual elements; its relations to other literature and to the demonstrative and physical sciences; its exposure to assaults upon its credibility; and its means and methods of defence,—all these large and perplexing themes present themselves for treatment by the aid of such powers as belong to the human mind under the guidance of a various and progressive culture. Nor does even this specification of some of the more important elements of a necessary task exhaust all the incidental topics which enter into it. The more thorough and deliberate and microscopic the criticism, the more abundant and suggestive appears the material of it. Delicate questions about the exact meanings of words in ancient languages, and even in our own, and about the translation of words and phrases from dead into living tongues, are to be debated by scholars, who must afterwards set forth the results of their study in a style intelligible to the unlearned. The figurative uses of language, idioms, Orientalisms, and metaphors, compli-

cate the discussion. And crowning all comes the great theme of Inspiration, — the meaning of the word, the evidence of the thing, the compass and extent of its influence, — whether it covers all the contents of the Bible or only a part of them, and what part, — whether it was confined to the original writing, and so has been impaired by the risks of time, of manuscripts and their translation into various languages, or whether the gift is of such a nature that its fruits are essentially preserved in every faithful transcript and version of the record.

Some unreflecting persons complain, at the very outset, that such a multitude of questions of such a nature should be opened at all, to perplex simple understandings, to impair in any way the confidence with which people love to read the Bible, to peril the authority, or to bring under debate the truth or value, of any of its contents. The same persons are apt to charge these consequences upon the Unitarian Controversy, and to hold Unitarians answerable for an unfair dealing with the Scriptures, tending to unsettle their Heaven-authenticated claims. In this topic of controversy between those once brethren, as well as in the discussion of the great doctrinal questions to some of which we have devoted many pages, the leading aim and purpose of Unitarians was in part misunderstood and in part misrepresented. The views of Scripture, and of the proper way of treating it, to which they were brought in the exercise of their best intelligence, as honest thinkers and careful students, were represented by their opponents as wanton and daring results of a spirit of pride and unbelief. Unitarians adopted their opinions from the compulsory influence of facts and arguments, whose force they could not resist. They did not hold and advance their views because their inclinations misled them, for they felt that they were yielding to the simple force of truth, the straits and necessities of the case. We have therefore first of all to remind ourselves how such questions as relate to the authority and the right interpretation of the Bible were naturally and necessarily opened in the controversy, how just the grounds of them were and are still, and how, when they have been opened, candor and truth require that they should be met. Wise and considerate men have often been per-

plexed when confronted with the consequences of their own theories; and though it may be a token of courage, it is certainly no proof of wisdom, to regard such consequences, when of a very perplexing or alarming character, with entire indifference, and as wholly without force against our theories. Whether in the adoption of a principle or a theory we should have in view the inevitable consequences, the practical effects, which will follow from it, is a question on which those who have concerned themselves with it have been divided; the dividing line being generally drawn so as to commit all mere theorists to a disregard of consequences, while those who have been compelled to face consequences have insisted that they should be had in view in the formation of theories. It will be found at the close of our present discussion, that the main issue between the Unitarian and the Orthodox views of the Scriptures, and the proper way of treating them, centres around this question: Shall we start with a theory about the inspiration, the authority, and the infallibility of the Scriptures, which recognizes the qualifications and abatements and embarrassments that will be sure to confront us as we meet the trial of that theory,—or shall we assume the very highest position possible; and then ingeniously contest, or grudgingly allow, the various objections of a fair and reasonable character which invalidate our position? Shall we form our theory in view of certain facts which we must sooner or later deal with in verifying our theory,—or shall we adopt a theory which will compel us to deal uncandidly or unsatisfactorily with facts that are plainly inconsistent with it?

When the Unitarian Controversy commenced here, it found prevailing in the popular mind, so far as that was in subjection to the popular theology, an almost idolatrous estimate of the Bible. This popular view of it allowed no discrimination in the value or authority of its various contents, and would scarcely tolerate any debate which went beyond the apparently literal meaning of the English version. In their use of the Bible, the people recognized no right of choice, no range for discrimination. It was all Bible. Indeed, a reader of the old tracts and sermons of our fathers is led to the persuasion, that they spent the hardest toil upon the

least profitable portions of the Scriptures. That they found those portions edifying, only proves how diligently they wrought upon them. Very many of their devoted ministers are known to have spent years of industrious zeal in writing extended expositions or commentaries upon the whole Bible, or upon its larger or smaller compositions. A few specimens of such comments on books or chapters are in print, but no complete work of the kind from their pens has ever been published. Cotton Mather's voluminous exposition still lies in manuscript in the cabinet of our Historical Society. Several generations of ministers, in the full sincerity of their own earnest faith, had inculcated a view of the Bible which modern opinions regard as superstitious. They had fostered this view, and insisted upon it as vital to faith and the ends of edification. To what extent this estimate of the Bible in the minds of believers was balanced by, or even accountable for, a lurking or a full developed scepticism and unbelief in the minds of others, we of course cannot know. Our knowledge of the workings of human nature and the facts which experience presents us in our own day of free, outspoken dissent from the popular belief, would warrant the inference that multitudes of the inquisitive and the restless in mind entertained misgivings, though they might keep silence about them. It would seem that the common rule applied here as in other matters, that when the standard of belief made an excessive and arbitrary exaction, a readiness to recognize it on the part of some was offset by an immoderate rebellion to it on the part of others. Much of the confessed and latent unbelief of our day is the costly penalty paid by a grown-up generation for the austerities and exactions with which faith was connected in the training of their childhood. But as the popular view of the Bible was made the standard for belief, all who for any reason could not accept it were left to make such abatements of it, or to find such a substitute for it, as they could, practising meanwhile such reserve of tongue as prudence or fear might dictate.

It is a remarkable fact, that, in all the voluminous and unfinished discussions which have been pursued on this high theme of the authority of the Bible, the witness

whose testimony is of chief relevancy and importance has received the least attention. All other tests and arguments have taken precedence of that which would bring the Bible to a trial through its own claims and contents. Common sense suggests that no reason for demanding for it the reverence and faith of men could possibly be offered from any external source or any subordinate grounds, which could compare in cogency with its own internal warrant. How far the old popular view of the authority of all the contents of the Bible is warranted by *any claims set up for themselves*, is a question which, to our knowledge, has never been tried thoroughly and candidly by a discussion unbiassed by any other considerations. We must defer any dealing with that question until we have briefly noticed some of the extraneous, incidental, historical, and conventional influences which helped, at least, very effectively to support, and, as we sincerely believe, to originate, a view of the contents of the Bible, as a whole, which is not warranted by any claims which they advance for themselves.

The Bible has been a book in popular circulation, free to the use of all Protestant readers, for a little more than three hundred years. For the greater portion of that time, and for all but a very small fraction of the masses of its readers, it has been perused and interpreted under the restraints of some external, ecclesiastical, or doctrinal teaching. For long ages after its contents had been gathered, it was withdrawn, kept back from popular use, in part from the policy of the priesthood, in part from the necessity of the case, as its cost, when written on parchment, was heavy, and those who could read were comparatively few. The Bible, indeed, was never in the possession of more than a very few private owners until after the Reformation. Before the Christian era, a few wealthy Jews might have copies of parts, or even of the whole, of the Old Testament made for them by the Scribes; but the families of Israel looked to the temple and the synagogues for their knowledge of its contents. Faith then came wholly by hearing, not from reading. When the two Testaments had been united in one or more volumes, copies were so rare that they were not found in the libraries of all the churches, con-

vents, monasteries, and universities. Occasionally, the choice cabinet of a monarch contained a copy. That the Christian world could have kept its faith and worship so long without depending upon the popular use of the Bible, would, after all, be the most effective argument in support of the policy of the Roman Church in its prohibition of the Bible, were it not for the counter argument which Protestants would instantly advance, in urging that the faith and worship which prevailed while the Bible was hid away were not consistent with Christian purity and truth.

Luther and Erasmus parted friendship at the Reformation, when the former, in resolute opposition to the judgment or the fears of the latter, resolved upon the translation of the Scriptures into the common tongue, for the free use of his countrymen. The knowledge that there was such a volume as the Bible, the difficulty of procuring it, the excitement raised by the expectation of it, the fact that it was identified with the Protestant cause, in antagonism with all the corruptions and inventions and additions of Romanism, made the multitude most eager to obtain it. Considering that, as Luther said, "the Papists burned the Bible because it was not on their side," we can hardly over-estimate the zeal and longing of the people to secure it. The license included on the title-page of our English Bibles, though passed unnoticed by many readers, tells a burdened tale. "Appointed to be read in churches," is the royal warrant which goes with the once forbidden book. When that warrant first accompanied a version in our own tongue, every one who could obtain a Bible was free to possess it, and all who had the precious gift of knowledge might read it. To read it was to interpret it in some way. And what a valued possession it was is hardly to be realized now, as the flood of literature floats by us. What an intense and deep joy has been experienced by millions of hearts over that book! Not only must it "be read in churches,"—it might be read in homes, by the way-side, anywhere, everywhere. As the larger portion of the people of England were then unable to read, others who had the gift would be to them the medium of its joy and instruction. We can paint to ourselves many impressive and

touching scenes of which it was the centre. It took the place and performed the service of priest and altar, of confessor and teacher, of counsellor and judge, to thousands of persons. It repeated the Pentecostal miracle of preaching the Gospel to every one in the tongue in which he was born. It represented in the household all the sanctities connected with the Church, the Sabbath, the grave, and the hope that extends beyond it. We still see, in some of the rural parish churches of England, the solid folio Bible held by a strong ring and chain to the reading-desk as in days of yore; when, after the hours of public worship, the minister having retired, simple villagers, with grave and reverent mien, gathered around some old man or woman, or some youth or maiden rich in the blessings of the mind, and listened to the precious pages. Every one of those pages was a revelation, and we may be sure that such perplexities as the narratives now present, not of scholarship, science, or criticism, but from the questionings of an unsophisticated mind or heart, received as fair and full a solution as the best wisdom of the world has ever since given to them. For nearly a century and a half portions of Wickliffe's translation had been read in English rural homes by wandering apostles of the new light, and each multiplication of copies in that or in subsequent versions extended the circle of readers and hearers. We may infer that, to those who had been trained on monkish legends and lore, the Bible was of easy learning, offering but rare occasion for raising distinctions in its contents.

It could not be but that such a book, so demanded as a designed gift from Heaven, so prized, so used, as a substitute for poor superstitions, and services performed in a dead language, would draw to itself the deepest, fondest, purest attachment of human hearts. It was living truth conveyed in the language of household life, that gave to the lessons of the Bible their sacred charm and power. For of all the reproaches, stern or gentle, visited upon the policy of the Roman Church, the most withering of all must be confessed to be this, that the very language which she chose for all her services became a dead language; her piety could not keep alive the tones and forms of her speech, and the spell of delusion which was laid upon her withheld her from change. The Bible

was found worthy of all the affectionate trust which it received, and affection and confidence alone in it, however unlimited, never harmed and never can harm any one. Only when the mind — the curious, searching, debating mind — asserts its own prerogative, does that unlimited confidence begin to falter, and need to be confirmed or restored by some deliberate methods of inquiry and discrimination.

But the piety of New England, and of those in the Old World who were in sympathy with the faith that was first nurtured in this wilderness, accepted the Bible — the whole Bible — in the fondest reliance of the whole heart and mind. Every family owned a Bible, and every member of each family read it, studied it, or heard it and revered it. All were either teachers or taught by it. Children were named after its worthies. Occasionally, too, names were borrowed from it in baptism of those who were not among its worthies, on the ground, perhaps, that being in the Bible, no matter how poorly they figured there, was warrant enough for perpetuating them. Precedents, examples, and warnings were quoted from the Bible, as from the whole world's history of all past ages, and from the Sibylline prophecies of all that was to come. The Bible was actually accepted here as a statute-book of civil and criminal law till a code could be deliberately framed; and when a code had been digested, Bible legislation furnished its basis and its penalties. It was well-nigh forgotten that the Bible was not written in English, and that it had ever been translated. The intermediate agency of men, in penning, gathering up, authenticating, transcribing, and transmitting its contents, was well-nigh lost sight of; and as God was the leading subject of the book, its authorship was directly referred to him.

It is easy to understand how ill those who had been educated under this warm, confiding, and entire reliance upon the letter of the Bible, would bear the first bold dealings of criticism with it, however cautious or reverent might be the language of such criticism. Painful and startling was the first experience of this kind. When the natural popular feeling against the intimations of criticism found expression through the teachers and defenders of the popular theology, it was to have

been expected that some severity of judgment should have followed. Those who began to discriminate between parts of the Bible, — to raise questions about the relative value and authority of its several contents, — to suggest new renderings of important passages, and to intimate the possibility of error introduced by time or chance in successive copies, or even into the original, by lack of knowledge or false reasoning, — those who opened here these now familiar “offences,” were prepared to be misunderstood. They had great reason, however, to complain of being grossly misrepresented. Time, with its wonderful revolutions, has realized a signal triumph for our early Unitarians in this direction. As we shall show before we close this essay, those who claim a doctrinal succession from the assailants of Unitarians have accepted, ratified, and indorsed to the full all the positions taken by those who bore the odium of first reducing the popular idolatry for the letter of the Bible. We utter boldly the unqualified assertion, and stand ready to maintain it in the lists of fair scholarship, that all the leading and essential canons of criticism, and all the qualifications and limitations which the most esteemed Unitarian divines applied to the Scriptures, have, within a few years, been recognized as just by eminent writers in various Orthodox communions. The American Unitarian Association has now in preparation a Commentary and Exposition of the New Testament. Such a work, covering both Testaments, might be made to the perfect satisfaction of our fellowship, every line of whose necessary comments and dissertations should be compiled from nominally Orthodox volumes. As we survey the crowded pages now before us, containing carefully culled extracts embracing admissions and assertions from distinguished Orthodox divines in the field of biblical criticism, and then recall how Unitarians were once abused for saying the same things, we feel a profound respect for men who nobly led on a work of consecrated toil and manly courage in the spirit of Christian fidelity to truth.

But the protest first raised against the ventures of criticism was earnest and foreboding; doubtless, too, it was sincere, however wise, discreet, and just — or the

opposite of all those epithets — it may have been. The appeal, in censure and protest, was in substance and tone as follows:— If you cannot substantiate your new views by the letter of the English Bible, just as we and our fathers have been reading it for centuries, give up the matter. Stick to the letter as it stands, and accept the established authority. The wise and good have found nutriment for their piety in a faith which never looked behind, beyond, or under the English version, and you will become no better than they were, — no wiser, no more enlightened in the truth, — by meddling with a jot or tittle in the text. Forego the exercise of your bold reason, your proud imagination. If you find difficulties, humble yourself before them: you ought to expect difficulties, and there is a merit in succumbing to them, while it is wicked to practise your ingenuity upon them. Question everything else, if you will; let philosophy, and science, and politics, and trade, and social theories hang all in the wind, as open debates, as themes to try all your wits; task yourself on these as you please; exercise your fancy, your zeal, your spirit of opposition, your eccentricity, your obstinacy, as you will upon them; but leave us the Bible untouched, unchallenged. There ought, at least, to be one thing sacred from dispute, from cavilling, from tricks of debate, from ingenious speculation, from the assaults of human pride, which so readily pass into scoffs at what is to be revered. The interests of religion require and demand this reservation of the Holy Scriptures, and of every line which they contain, from all such presumptuous risks. It is the condition on which alone they can be of best use — of any real, edifying use — to simple men and women. You cannot press any such treatment as you propose upon the Bible, without at once raising unfair distinctions between Christians as regards the terms of salvation and a knowledge of those terms. But scholars are here entitled to no prerogative beyond the unlearned. We all stand on a level before that book; we have no right to judge it, for it is to judge us. Let it remain respected, revered, holy. As the Heaven-appointed style of an altar required that no tool should be used upon it, so the Bible should

stand free of any profaning touch from man. Yield to it and secure to it such an unqualified regard, that, wherever any one opens to it, he may feel sure that he is reading what was writ by God, that the plainest sense of it is the truest, the literal meaning the right meaning, and that the Holy Spirit is addressing you in every sentence.

Such was the appeal made in behalf of the Bible against those whose questions and critical processes were met by intimidation or foreboding. The plea was spoken in various tones of kindness or severity, of courtesy or insolence, and it was enforced by various measurements of breadth or narrowness of intelligence, against those who first opened here the now familiar discussions, critical, philosophical, or sceptical, concerning the contents or the authority of the Bible.

From the tone and temper in which this plea has often been spoken, one might suppose it was addressed to some reckless and ruthless men, utterly indifferent to religion themselves, and bent only upon unsettling the faith of others. That those who were thus remonstrated with had an interest of their own at stake in the Bible fully equal to that of any others, and were as heartily and vitally concerned in all the questions thus raised, is but the suggestion of common sense. For who is there that connects his own hope and faith with the Bible, but would rejoice with all his heart and mind to yield to this appeal in all its warmth and earnestness? Are we not all equally interested in a revelation from God, in the volume which contains it, in asserting its authority, and in maintaining the infallibility of the record, if it be infallible? It is preposterous for one class of believers, who are ready to blink all biblical perplexities for themselves, and to offer unsound and inadequate explanations of them to the weak, the confiding, and the credulous whom they may influence, to address another class of their fellow-men, who give proof of honest motives, as if they were seeking to discredit the Bible because they opened their eyes to obvious difficulties in it. It is as if one set of mariners should rail at another set for attempting to speculate upon, calculate, measure, and allow for the vari-

ations of the compass,—the compass on which all alike depend, and by which all alike are glad to steer. Is there an honest and sincere person on the earth who would not be grateful for an infallible Bible, or who would be disposed to pick flaws in it? Are those who have given years of scholarly toil to the study of the Bible—all unrequited except as the result has cleared and strengthened their own faith by reducing alike their superstitious prejudices and their doubts—to be assailed as a set of religious Vandals? And if, as the deduction of intelligent and fair biblical criticism, it should appear that, within a few very definite restrictions and qualifications, a few guards of caution, and a few allowances of manifest error, the Bible is entitled to the character for infallibility which popular belief has set up for it, would not the critics who verified and proclaimed the fact be the heartiest sharers in the confidence it would afford? When the variations of the compass have been reduced to rule, its guidance is followed as implicitly as if it were subject to no variations. Let the highest standard be set for the authority and the infallibility of the Bible which honest truth will allow, and we may safely affirm that there is not a single right-minded person in the community who would turn coldly away from it, or willingly do or say anything to detract from it.

But the very occasion for making such an appeal is an intimation that it relies not wholly on fact, but somewhat on feeling and fear, and on a conscious mis-giving as to its entire validity. The appeal could not avert criticism, and it cannot stifle it. Doubt and inquiry had the start of the appeal, and had already preoccupied the ground. The strife began at this very point. Apprehension got the better of courage, and remonstrances, often charged with abuse, were substituted for arguments. The question forced itself upon trial, not whether the Bible could be rescued from the scholar's or the sceptic's touch, but whether it could fairly and fearlessly stand the test, which it ought not for one moment to dread, if it were worthy of the confidence claimed for it. If God had written it, his hand and mind might safely be left to vindicate their work. If it had passed unharmed through the risks of ages, of

transcription and translation, it need not quail before the dictionary, the grammar, or the commentary. The explorer of the Egyptian catacombs, the curious antiquarian digging away the sand from the plains of Assyria, or marking out the sites of the seven churches of Asia, could not discredit the record. The chronologist by old-world cycles, eclipses, and royal dynasties, the geologist gathering up the medals of creation, the mariner on the Mediterranean, and the traveller through Southern Italy, would never unsettle the Scriptures of Moses or Paul. The timidity of the champions of the Bible would bring its claims into peril far more than would the boldness of its challengers.

So far as the discussions connected with the Unitarian Controversy are had in view, we feel at liberty to say that Unitarians as a class have made a loyal recognition of the paramount importance of true Scriptural knowledge by the labors they have spent upon the original text, and by their scholarly zeal to authenticate and interpret it. In view of facts, of which unfortunately the evidence is painfully abundant in current religious literature, it is the sincere conviction of Unitarians, uncharitable as the confession of it may seem, that many Orthodox writers, for the sake of sustaining unimpaired the authority of the Bible, deal disingenuously with difficulties to which they really cannot close their own eyes or those of common readers. Orthodoxy attempts to hide from observation, or to make too light of, some of the perplexities which the Scriptures present to many conscientious and serious persons; while the obtrusion of these perplexities is regarded by the Orthodox as proof that they cannot be proposed by any really conscientious or serious person, but indicate of themselves a depraved heart. The Orthodox in general insist that faith in the Bible, and love for it, should shut the eyes of all readers to the misgivings which their theory of its infallibility creates, and should reconcile them to encounter, unexplained and unrelieved, every embarrassing suggestion. It is claimed that the same Christian submission which reconciles us to bear bodily affliction and bereavement from God, ought to make us docile and tolerant over the seeming flaws in an infallible record. We are asked not only to accept the Bible

under the highest character which we can intelligently assign to it, but as burdened with claims which Orthodoxy has set up for it; and in trying to uphold these claims Orthodoxy does not deal fairly with many of the difficulties which, *not the Bible*, but the *Orthodox theory* of the Bible, presents. Orthodoxy gives the Bible a weak side at that very point where it takes up the championship of the Bible.

We will now frankly state the position which Unitarians have in general affirmed, which they have maintained against many opponents, which they believe those opponents must and will sooner or later be compelled to accept, and which has in fact within the last quarter of a century received either an outspoken or an implied recognition from the most competent biblical students of various Christian communions. It is, that the prevailing popular view of the authority, the inspiration, and the infallibility of the Bible, has been superstitiously attached to it, that it did not originate in the Bible, is not claimed by the contents of the Bible, and cannot be sustained by any fair dealing with them; while the special pleading, the subterfuges, the artifices, the evasions, the forced constructions, and the actual violence to truth and fact, needed to uphold the popular view, are the very scorn of many intelligent persons and the grief of many pious persons. That position stands attested by overwhelming truth, and he who is competent to pronounce upon it must be something more than a bold man, and something worse than a weak man, who will now dare to question it. Is it now the pride of reason, the rebellion of a sinful heart, the entering into a controversy with God, which has instigated biblical criticism, and led Unitarians to adopt those general views about the composition, the authority, and the inspiration of the Bible that are identified with their position in this controversy? Let us try to answer this question.

We regret again to have to say, that an unjust aspersion was cast upon the motives of those who, in our doctrinal discussions, advanced the usual and now very familiar terms of biblical criticism, in suggesting the possibility of error, of mistranslations, perversions, and corruptions in the text of Scripture. It is to be granted

that such suggestions may be made in the spirit of caviling, of hypercriticism, of contempt and poor conceit of mind. But they may also be prompted by the highest conscientiousness, by the most intelligent candor, and by a most reverent and sincere intent. The instigating motive and spirit of them must be inferred from the characters, the professed design, and the language of those who offer them. It requires but a little discernment to distinguish between a reckless and a captious disputant, and an honest, humble doubter over perplexities, — though both may ask the same questions and make similar assertions. But the charge quite confidently and indignantly uttered against the Unitarians in pages of "*The Panoplist*" and "*The Spirit of the Pilgrims*" was in substance this: "You are flattering the pride of human reason, you are judging the word of God by your own prejudices, and making your own taste or intelligence or conscience the measure and test of revealed truth; you wish to warp and twist Scripture, to perplex the unlearned, and to unsettle the foundations of faith and reverence, leaving us all to the mercy of private judgment and a sort of freedom which Protestantism never contemplated."

In answer to this aspersion upon their motives, Unitarians replied, in general, that it was unjust and bigoted; that in the issue they would be found to be the wiser friends of the Bible; that the object which they had in view in proposing some discrimination in the contents and the popular estimate of that book, and in arguing for certain textual constructions and emendations, was simple truth, to meet the actual emergencies and exactions of the case; that the Scriptures were exposed to harm and to abuse, were open to honest criticism as to a safeguard, and that the human elements in them were subject to criticism and revision by the human faculties. They also urged, that, whatever was the authority of the original inspiration, unless we were prepared to claim that all transcribers, translators, and printers of the Bible, as well as the collectors who first pronounced upon the canonical documents, were divinely watched over, restrained, and helped, there must have been risk of error and consequent material for criticism. Whether Unitarianism or Trinitarianism would gain or

lose by the processes proposed, was an issue entirely subordinated to the Christian scholar's loyalty to his appropriate work.

Thus the whole question concerning the authority, the inspiration, and the interpretation of the Bible was fully opened, though prejudiced in the tone of its discussion by this unfair imputation of motives. In conducting their arguments, founded on textual criticism, Unitarians suggested the following and similar considerations:— That some books and some portions of books in the Bible are of doubtful authority, and probably spurious; that the collection is of a miscellaneous character, of unequal value, credit, and present authority; that science, history, chronology, geography, and even morality and piety, can propose valid objections to more or less important contents of the Bible, if the *letter* is insisted upon and a *plenary inspiration* is claimed for it; that inspiration could not be ascribed equally to all its contents, and was not needed in some of them, while the nature and measure and proof of inspiration itself were all unsettled and difficult of determination by any formula; that the writers used Orientalisms and figures of speech, exaggerations and metaphors, which would mislead us if rigidly interpreted into more literal forms of language; that what Christ said is more authoritative than anything that comes from any other source; that he may have conformed in language to views and conceptions then prevailing in the world, without always authenticating such views and conceptions as his language implied; that possibly his own words had sometimes been misunderstood or misreported, or affected by transcription or translation; that there are discrepancies, even in the New Testament, which cannot fairly be reconciled into a perfect consistency with the entire infallibility claimed for the writers; that the strict rules of logic were not always observed by the writers in their reasoning; that they were liable to mistake if they went out of the range within which their inspiration was limited; and that on one point at least the Apostles were manifestly in error in expecting the end of the world in their generation, and in speaking of it as certain.

When the controversy, leaving these broad fields, was concentrated upon some specific issue, a dispute was

raised as to the proper province of reason in dealing with the Bible and its contents. Unitarians insisted upon an undefined, but still a real and legitimate faculty in a human being, not to judge Divine Truth, but to judge upon what other men offered to it as Divine Truth, — upon its message and its vehicle, upon its consistency with reason and with the elementary constitution of that nature which God had given and which God addressed. Unitarians accord with the judicious Hooker in a belief in “the primary revelation of the human understanding.” Holding to this as, though a vague and undetermined, still a vitally essential right, some Unitarians have been wont to express themselves very strongly to this effect: If the Bible could be proved to teach this or that doctrine, professedly drawn from it, so inconsistent with its other contents, with the attributes of God and the nature of man, and so shocking to human reason, then the necessary inference would follow, that the Bible is not from God. Unitarians were replied to by their opponents, that, if a book advancing the claims of the Bible were found to contain such monstrous doctrines, its Divine authority would of course be perilled. This being yielded as an hypothesis, it was then denied that the Bible had any such contents, and when, notwithstanding, the Orthodox continued to press upon Unitarians doctrines as from the Bible which to the latter had that character and aspect, the revulsion of heart, mind, and soul against them was not allowed to discredit the doctrines or the Bible which was supposed to teach them, but was referred to the pride of carnal reason and a haughty heart. The doctrines, nevertheless, came from God, and were good doctrines, and the Bible was all the more precious for teaching them; and until a man could choke them down, he was unmistakably in a hopeless state of reprobation.

When the discussion reached this point, it was a blessed thing for both parties that there was such a door of relief opened as that of biblical criticism. God be thanked for the understanding he has given to man, as well as for the inspiration he has given to his Word; for the faculty to interpret, as well as for the oracle; for the certain expounder of its uncertain sounds. The great question presents itself, What doctrines does the

Bible teach? So that, beside all the broad issues relating to the authenticity and authority of the different books of Scripture, there came in for discussion a large range of topics connected with interpretation. The direction of these discussions and the spirit brought to them may be inferred from the following instance. There appeared in "*The Spirit of the Pilgrims*"* a very censorious review of Milman's *History of the Jews*, written in the spirit of an alarmist. In that review the liberal-minded and intelligent author, though, as a distinguished clergyman of the Church of England, he belonged then as now to a nominally Orthodox communion, was severely handled for venturing to make some concessions of a semi-rationalistic character. The reviewer expresses his own opinion in this sentence: "We know that, of all impossible vagaries of a learned fancy, that of making the Bible a book which infidels will believe is the wildest." This remark is made concerning the efforts of the critic, in allowing for the Orientalisms of the record, to reduce some apparently marvellous, legendary, or exaggerated details to a more credible self-consistency. Suppose now we invert the remark of the reviewer, and say that, "Of all the most objectionable ways of viewing and treating the Bible, that is the most harmful which fosters infidelity and burdens a vigorous and effective faith in its substantial truth with a slavish bondage to the letter of all its contents." Is not this assertion of ours as true as that of the reviewer? And is not the truth in it as worthy of practical regard and caution from the defenders of the Bible? The advocates of the Bible have found occasion in many cases to be its apologists. They ought to be furnished for both these offices, as were the great ministers of the Christian Church in the centuries after the Apostles. But it is a curious fact, that many divines who have been most ready to write upon the evidences of Christianity have been the least tolerant of the harder tasks of the biblical critic. While those who are already firm and assured in their Scriptural faith of course may look to their religious teachers for instruction founded on their faith, it would seem as if those who are tried by doubts, but are

* Vol. III. p. 487.

anxious to believe if their difficulties can be removed, deserved some sympathy from the friends and champions of revelation. Some of our divines, however, seem to have acted on the principle, that the harder they made the terms of biblical faith to the sceptical, the more precious those terms would be to the believer.

On the same page of the same review just quoted, we read the following sentence: "Let the defender of the inspiration of the Bible take the highest ground; he will find it easiest to maintain." But what is the highest ground? The writer evidently means by the expression to recommend the boldest assertion, the most unqualified, unscrupulous, and dogmatic assertion, of plenary inspiration. This, however, would be to our minds the lowest ground, lowest in the scale of reason, truth, value, and evidence. Who shall be judge in any case whether an obstinate and rigid adherence to an unintelligent and a reckless theory, or a candid concession to a reconsidered and a reconstructed theory, be the truest ground? — for the truest will be the highest. An issue raised by common sense concerning hundreds of passages in Scripture, asks whether they are to be interpreted *literally* or *figuratively*; and if figuratively, how we are to choose, out of an infinite number of harder prosaical forms of language, a cast into which to compress the poetic figure. Thus, twice does the Bible affirm that the Ten Commandments were "written with the finger of God" on tables of stone. (Exod. xxxi. 18; Deut. ix. 10.) If we insist upon the *letter*, we must say that God took into his hands those slabs of stone, and actually engraved upon them with his own finger the Ten Commandments. But if we yield the literal for *some* figurative interpretation, we have abandoned logic with the letter, and we follow our fancies as they rove in a thousand directions to seek the proper shaping of an image for expressing God's agency in acting through man as an engraver or scribe, a dictator or oracle. How vain, then, is the attempt to trammel such ventures as those of Milman, provided they are reverential, with the broken bonds of literalism! Over and over again we find the Deity represented in the Old Testament as rising early in the morning light, as if, like a man who had a task, he determined to start apace and make a long day of it.

No one interprets such language literally. But when we abandon the letter, the alternative is not to insist upon some specific, figurative form, but to launch freely into the expanse of devout and reverent imagery.

Suppose a serious reader of the Bible, with a burden on his mind, comes to his minister with this question: "How can the Bible twice repeat the assertion, that 'David was a man after God's own heart, fulfilling all his will,' (1 Sam. xiii. 14, Acts xiii. 22,) when the same Bible presents David to us as an adulterer and a murderer, and tells us that he was expressly forbidden to build a temple for God, because he was 'a man of blood'?" Doubtless the minister in the age of our fathers would have replied, that "God sanctified all his instruments," and would have let the matter drop there. A minister of our own time would be likely to reply, that the English words "a man after God's own heart" do not convey exactly the Hebraism in the original; which means, more strictly rendered, *a man of God's choice for fulfilling his purpose in one or more directions.* The relief is appreciable and sufficient. But is not this a use of your reason for removing a seeming inconsistency in the record, a trial of your own skill and wisdom to improve upon what your fathers left you? It surely is. Suppose, then, you try the same intelligence upon the popular notion that David's fierce imprecations upon his enemies in some of the Psalms come from inspiration of God, and so are of edifying use in Christian churches for the devotion of Christians at this day. Of the nine verses in that exquisite and heart-moving lyric, Psalm cxxxvii., the first six might have come from a soul kindled by the fire of the divine altar. But what shall we say of the last verse,—"O daughter of Babylon, happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones"?

We can give but a few paragraphs to that element of the great controversy before us which involves the subject of Inspiration, though a volume might be filled by that topic alone. All clear, distinguishing, and satisfactory views on this topic are embarrassed by the unsettled and undefined senses attached by different persons to Inspiration when ascribed to the Bible. The most encouraging reason for hoping that we have made ap-

proximation to a true theory of Inspiration, and to more accordance of opinion and belief in reference to it, is found in the fact that we have given over our attempts at a rigid definition of its substance, scope, or limitations. And yet, till we have something like such a definition, we can argue, advocate, and object to but vague conclusions. Who will tell us, to the content of all, what is meant by Inspiration? We all know what *we mean* to mean by it. We all have a clouded sense of its august, oracular source, its exalted authority, and its intended uses, as abiding in a writing whose words, or at least whose contents, have a Divine sanction. But what rigid exposition can be given of its method, its operation, its limits, its distinguishing marks and tokens? What are the securities of its tenure for human use? Is it restricted to the communication and the sanction of one class of truths, namely, religious truths, and even, by a rigid analysis, to that class of religious truths which we call the highest, that is, the spiritual as distinguished from the moral? Does the inspiration by the Divine Mind of a human mind, as a channel or organ for the communication of religious truth, affect all the views and utterances of that mind, and make all its judgments and opinions infallible? Does this inspiration intermingle with the knowledge and the wisdom derived by the inspired man from other sources? How does such inspiration pass from the mind into speech or writing, using the vocables of a language and its grammatical forms, and words and images which have a variety of significations and associations? Does this inspiration confine its authority to the actual utterances and to the original record made by the subject of it, or is it of such a nature as to admit of being perpetuated unimpaired in a tolerably faithful translation of the record?

The Apostles affirmed, on an occasion when evidence was all important, that two sorts of it were offered in the cause of the Gospel. Thus, "WE are his witnesses of these things; and so is also the HOLY GHOST, whom God hath given to them that obey him." (Acts v. 32.) Here they evidently distinguish between their own testimony as competent witnesses to what they had seen, heard, and known, and the assurance of belief which God gave by inspiration to the obedient. St.

Paul often makes a distinction between what he teaches as a man, speaking by his own judgment and prompting, and what he teaches through the Spirit of God. Thus the personal Apostolic testimony is made to be that of independent, veritable eyewitnesses, who had cognizance of facts transpiring within their own observation, and of intelligent judges of truth as to matters level to human comprehension. The testimony of the Holy Ghost stands in some sense apart, as to a degree authenticating what the Apostles knew, and to a degree adding to their knowledge, their power, and their ability to teach, and attaching a demonstration to their testimony. Is there not here a fair distinction between the contents of the Bible as embracing alike what is taught, from human sources, of history, wisdom, moral precept and doctrine, and what came by immediate inspiration from God? And if that distinction be allowed, then Inspiration must be restricted to a portion of the contents of the Bible, while what it contains of mere human teaching or writing must be subject to the conditions attaching to all the operations of the human intellect.

The old Orthodox theory wavered and oscillated between a *verbal inspiration* and a *plenary* inspiration of all the contents of the Bible, and either epithet attached to inspiration has been the warrant with the Orthodox of all parties for speaking of the Bible as "the Word of God," which, as the careful reader knows very well, has no Scripture warrant for its use.* The usual form of

* In illustration and confirmation of an assertion made on a preceding page, to the effect that all the discriminating suggestions of leading Unitarian critics had recently received full approval from scholars in other communions, who, in a candid dealing with the Bible, have admitted the necessity of qualifying popular exaggerations concerning it, we adduce the following very pointed remarks. They are extracted from a volume of sermons, entitled "Rational Godliness, after the Mind of Christ, and the Written Voices of his Church," by Rowland Williams, B. D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, England, and Professor of Hebrew at Lampeter. "Above all, let no man blunt the edge of his conscience, by praising such things as the craft of Jacob, or the blood-stained treachery of Jael; nor let the natural metaphor by which men called a sacred record 'the Word of God' ever blind us to the fact that no text has been found, from Genesis to Revelations, in which this holy name is made a synonyme for the entire volume of Scripture; but rather, the spirit is often, especially in the New Testament, put in opposition to the letter; and the living word, as for instance it was spoken by the Apostles, is constantly distinguished from the written tradition of the days of old. Most commonly, in the New Testament, the phrase *Word of God*

the Orthodox argument is as follows: Christ authenticated the Inspiration of the whole of the Old Testament by referring in confidence to its parts and contents, by quoting it as authority in all cases, and by ratifying its prophecies and doctrines. "Thus saith the Lord" is the warrant of Inspiration for the whole Old Testament. The Apostles of Christ follow in this respect the example of their Master, while the Inspiration which he promised to them assures to their own writings the same Divine sanction which they ascribe to the elder Scriptures. The warning, at the close of the last book of the Bible, against taking from or adding to it, is

means the Gospel of Christ, or the glad tidings of the Messiah being come. It should also be noticed, that, while the discoveries of modern travellers do so far confirm the books of the Old Testament as to show their historical character, they give no countenance to any exaggerated theory of omniscience or dictation, but rather contravene any dream of the kind. When men quote discoveries as confirmations of the Bible, they should consider in what sense and how far it is confirmed by them." — pp. 298, 299.

Again: "But above all, the critical interpretation of the sacred volume itself is a study for which our generation is, by various acquirements, eminently qualified. Hence we have learnt that neither the citations usually made in our theological systems, nor even those adduced from the Old Testament in the New, are any certain guide to the sense of the original text. The entire question of prophecy requires to be opened again from its very foundation. Hence, to the student, who is compelled to dwell on such things, comes often the distress of glaring contradictions; and with some the intellect is clouded, while the faith of others has waxed cold. If the secret religious history of the last twenty years could be written, (even setting aside every instance of apostasy through waywardness of mind, or through sensuality of life), there would remain a page over which angels might weep. So long, indeed, as such difficulties are thought absolutely to militate against Christianity, the strong necessity which the best men feel for Christian sentiment will induce them to keep the whole subject in abeyance. Yet surely the time must come when God will mercifully bring our spirit into harmony with our understanding. He who dwells in light eternal does not promote his kingdom by darkness; and he whose name is Faithful and True is not served by falsehood. If knowledge has wounded us, the same spear must heal our wound.

"Nor can I close without humbly asking the grave, the reverend, and the learned, whether all this subject does not call for greater seriousness, tenderness, and frankness. Who would not be serious on observing how many men's hope of heaven is bound up with belief in the infallibility of a book, which, every day convinces us, expresses, as regards things of earth, the thoughts of fallible men? Or who is so blind as to think that the cause of eternal truth should be defended by sophistries of which a special pleader would be ashamed? One would make a large allowance for the conscientious anxiety of those eminent persons whose position makes them responsible as bulwarks of the Faith; and who are ever dreading the consequences to which the first outlet of the waters of freedom may tend. But may God in his mercy teach them that nothing can be so dangerous as to build on a false foundation." — pp. 306 - 308.

made by the Orthodox theory virtually to cover and to guard the whole volume, and to make it literally the Word of God.*

The Unitarian argues thus, in general terms. The contents of the Bible were not gathered into a volume by either of the writers of it, but by men unknown to us. We have no reason for believing that a protecting and guiding inspiration presided over this collection or selection of writings, and we are wholly ignorant as to the degree of care, or the terms and means for authenticating its contents, employed in the work. Some apocryphal or disputed books were excluded from either Testament, and some of the books admitted into the New Testament have from the first been admitted to be of doubtful authority; not so much on the score of their contents, as because they lacked the evidence necessary for authenticating them. The Old Testament bears on its face the appearance of including all the Jewish literature extant at the time of its compilation, and is therefore of a very miscellaneous character, while it mentions and quotes from other Jewish Scriptures which seem to have been lost. We know not the authors of a large number of the books of the Old Testament, and the writers do not all of them by any means claim to have had inspiration. Some of the books relate simply and purely to matters of history, having no concern with doctrine and scarcely any relation to religion. In writing them *honesty* would be the best and the only necessary sort of inspiration. A competent knowledge of facts and a power to relate them would be the full qualification of the writers of a large portion of them.

* The same Episcopal divine from whom we have just quoted so largely thus offsets the common Orthodox notion that the Saviour and his Apostles authenticated and indorsed the whole Old Testament: "Now all these writers of the New Testament appear partly as antagonists of the Old, and partly as witnesses who confirm it. Partly they are antagonists, for even the doctrines of Christ find fault with much that had been spoken of old. He appeals from the law of Moses about marriage to the purer instinct of the heart, as that which had been from the beginning; he refuses to confirm the law of retaliation; and both he and his Apostles, especially St. Paul, turn men's thoughts from the tradition of the wisdom of old time, which was principally enshrined in the Bible, to that life of the soul which comes of the Holy Ghost, and to the ever-expanding law which is both written in the heart, and which accumulates enactment from experience." — *Rational Godliness*, p. 300.

There are also manifest errors and perplexities, inconsistencies and discrepancies, found in a close and careful study of the records, which utterly confound one who seeks to refer them all to inspiration from God.

Still Unitarians, so far from denying, have always affirmed and insisted upon their belief in an inspiration of the Scriptures. They have never given a rigid dogmatical definition of their idea or their belief on this point, because the very conditions of the case prevent their doing so. Again do we have to admit vagueness and indefiniteness into our creed, rather than purchase a rigid formula at the expense of truth,—a formula taken from human hands, under the false guise of a Divine oracle. Our aim shall now be to illustrate this position,—that Unitarianism forms its view of the inspiration, the authority, and the value to be ascribed to the Bible, under a recognition of the allowances and limitations which must be made in qualification of the claim for its Divine origin and infallibility that has been popularly advanced for it; while Orthodoxy nominally clings to and insists upon an unqualified theory of the Divine origin and infallibility of all the contents of the sacred volume, and then by actual compulsion yields certain concessions more or less invalidating its theory. The actual issue, then, between the able biblical critics on either side of this controversy is, as to whether it be wiser and better, more honest and more candid, to make these necessary concessions first or last; to advance one theory in view of the facts that must be recognized, or to advance another theory in spite of those facts. Sooner or later those facts which compel us to qualify the popular view of the Bible must be confronted. Do we not speak a truth, of which the Christian scholars of our day have met much painful and mortifying evidence, when we affirm that the concessions compulsorily drawn out in the course of the arguments proposed by many Orthodox divines in support of the old view of the inspiration and the infallibility of the whole Bible, are made most grudgingly, awkwardly, timidly, and in some cases are ingeniously smothered over in evasive, uncandid, and irrelevant equivocation.

We have a task, in many respects an unwelcome one, before us, but we must perform it as faithfully as we

can. The course of our argument compels us to present some specimens from each of the various materials of embarrassment with which an honest defender of the Bible must in our day reconcile his view of the Scriptures.

Protestants have in one respect at least been faithful to the high liberty and to the solemn obligation which they asserted for themselves, the right and the duty of studying the Scriptures with the freest and the most scrutinizing faculties God has given them. Commentaries, expositions, and critical helps without number have been provided. The Bible has had a million microscopes of the intensest power turned upon it. "Reference Bibles," with their curious apparatus, have reduced the theory of interpreting Scripture by Scripture into a literally practical work for thousands of readers. Now let the excellent Dr. Arnold state to us a plain truth in his moderate and guarded way. He says: "It is very true that our position with respect to the Scriptures is not in all points the same as our fathers'. For sixteen hundred years nearly, while physical science, and history, and chronology, and criticism were all in a state of torpor, the questions which now present themselves to our minds could not from the nature of the case arise. When they did arise, they came forward into notice gradually: first, the discoveries in astronomy excited uneasiness; then, as men began to read more critically, differences in the several Scripture narratives of the same thing awakened attention; more lately, the greater knowledge which has been gained of history, and of language, and in all respects the more careful inquiry to which all ancient records have been submitted, have brought other difficulties to light, and some sort of answer must be given to them."*

Dr. Newman, the Puseyite champion of Romanism, in his argument in support of a priesthood, an extra-scriptural church authority, and the doctrine of transubstantiation, illustrates his position that people must believe in spite of the difficulties and the seeming unreasonableness of some tenets, by alleging the perplexities

* Dr. Arnold's *Christian Life*; its Course, its Hinderances, and its Helps. Notes, p. 485.

of Scripture. Dr. Arnold censures him, because, "with great ingenuity, but with a recklessness of consequences, or an ignorance of mankind truly astonishing, he brought forward all the difficulties and differences which can be found in the Scripture narratives, and displayed them in their most glaring form." * Dr. Arnold says for himself: "Feeling what the Scriptures are, I would not give unnecessary pain to any one by an enumeration of those points in which the literal historical statement of an inspired writer has been vainly defended." † We think this excellent man was greatly mistaken in the opinion which he afterwards utters as to a general unconsciousness or ignorance on the part of the readers of the Bible of the difficulties presented by it when tried by the popular theory; but we must commend his earnest plea, "that, if ever these difficulties are brought forward, let us not try to put them aside unfairly."

The difficulties to which we shall make a brief reference, as specimens of various classes of perplexities and misgivings, are such *only* and *entirely* in view of the popular notion of the infallibility and the homogeneity of all the miscellaneous contents of the Bible. In view of what we regard as a more just and an equally edifying theory of the Bible, they are trivial and harmless.

When, under the best restraints of reverence, intelligence, and a proper self-distrust, we apply the tests of criticism to the various contents of the Bible, we find many tokens of human fallibility, either in the original writers, or at least in the records which have come to us in their present form. It is a relief to us to find, as Dr. Arnold also says he "must acknowledge, that the scriptural narratives do not claim inspiration for themselves," ‡ and though, with him, we believe in inspiration in the Scriptures on other grounds, it is a comfort to us to be free to define it to our own minds. As but few of the books claim to have been composed by those to whom they are ascribed, we are left in doubt as to the source of the whole or of parts of some of them. Names are assigned to some places which were not attached to those places

* Dr. Arnold's Christian Life; its Course, its Hinderances, and its Helps. Notes, p. 480.

† Ibid., p. 491.

‡ Ibid., p. 487.

till after the death of the reputed writers. In one of the books ascribed to Moses there is a compliment bestowed on him as the meekest of men, and an account of his death, indicating certainly some editorial work, we know not by whom. Admitting the inspiration of Moses, would it necessarily follow that his editor and biographer was inspired? Besides the multitude of historical perplexities presented by the Scriptures, they are embarrassed by much of apparent conflict in their statements with matters of positive science and chronology. Whoever maintains the "plenary inspiration" of the Scriptures, of course commits himself to uphold the perfect accuracy of the writers in every statements which they have made, alike in their incidental allusions and by-the-way remarks, and in their most direct and emphatic announcements. Even if they were not inspired to write on scientific matters, still, if they were restrained or aided by a Divine oversight while holding their pens, they could have written nothing but truth. Now, what heaps of volumes have been composed in attempts to frown down the demonstrative sciences whenever they seemed to threaten a text in Genesis! How much futile ingenuity, how much trivial special pleading, how much absurd theorizing, have been exercised on such matters as "The Six Days of Creation," "The Unity of the Human Race," "The Flood," the capacity of "The Ark," "The Rainbow," "The Ages of the Patriarchs," "The Plagues of Egypt," "The Red Sea," "Manna," and "Joshua and the Sun." How was astronomy first resisted as an impious science! When the history of geological science shall come to be written, with special reference to the alarms and opprobriums through which Buckland and J. P. Smith and Mantel and Lyell led on the line of the earth's revelations of its own history, will not Protestantism be regarded as having fully matched the old story of Galileo and his Roman inquisitors? Not the least ludicrous among the incidents to be rehearsed in that history will be the grateful avidity with which a large number of the "*Evangelical*" party threw themselves and their Bibles into the arms of Hugh Miller.

When the Bible presents us with duplicate narratives, or contemporaneous records covering the same

time, events, and characters, of course we are urged to a very searching criticism of them. The Books of Samuel, of Kings, and Chronicles are of this character; and when their contents are brought into comparison, they are often found in strange conflict in their statements. Matters which have not the slightest importance, and no sort of connection with the realities or the sanctions of our faith, in themselves considered, are thus exalted into alarms and dangers, if the standard of inspiration and infallibility is set for all the promiscuous contents of the Bible. These books present us with some specimens of a most perplexing nature, under one of the chief class of embarrassments attaching to the narratives of the Old Testament,—the matter of numbers, in stating population, military forces, and amounts of money. It is a comfort to confess, in our confusion and bewilderment, that “we are very ignorant about the Hebrew system of notation,” and that old records that have been frequently copied by the pen are especially liable to error in the matter of figures and numbers. When, by command of David, Joab numbered the forces, according to 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, Israel had 800,000 soldiers, and Judah had 500,000; but according to 1 Chron. xxi. 5, Israel had 1,100,000 and Judah 470,000. In 2 Kings viii. 26, Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, was twenty-two years old when he began to reign; but in 2 Chron. xxii. 2, he is said to have been forty-two years old. This latter account makes him to have been two years older than his own father, who died just before the son’s accession, aged forty (2 Chron. xxi. 20). In 1 Kings xv. 32, it is said, “there was war between Asa and Baasha all their days”; but in 2 Chron. xiv. 1, it is said, Asa had peace in his land ten years. In 2 Chron. xiv. 3, it is said that Asa took away “the high places” of idolatry; but in the next chapter, verse 17, it is said, “the high places were not taken away.” In view of these and similar phenomena, of which he makes a most candid recognition, Professor Stuart very truly says, the critic “has a somewhat formidable task before him; especially if he adopts the theory of plenary *verbal* inspiration.”*

* Stuart’s Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon, p. 161.

The Professor also remarks, very naively, in reference to a matter already noticed, that "the statement of numbers occasionally wears the air of something very extraordinary."* It seems hardly credible that the wealth collected by David for the temple should have been what is stated in 1 Chron. xxii. 14, calculated by Dr. Arbuthnot, in his Table of Ancient Currency, to amount to £ 800,000,000. One, too, may be allowed to hope that there is some error in the statement, that a man so wise as Solomon should have burdened himself with a thousand women.

Similar discrepancies, found by comparing two or more representations of the same events, incidents, and discourses, are now among the familiar themes of discussion in the criticism of the Gospels. The advocate who attempts to reconcile those phenomena with the theory of *Infallibility* in the present form of those records, must task his ingenuity at the expense of his candor.

Take, next, the phenomena presented by the Book of Job. The interlocutors in the discussions contained in that marvellously rich and precious Scripture debate the great mystery of the purpose of evil, its allowance and tolerance by God, and its seemingly unequal, unjust, deferred, and immoderate visitations upon different human beings. The speakers approach and recede from the mystery; they clutch at it, and then quail before it; they offer all sorts of notions about it; and we find in the book arguments affirmed and answered, objections raised and set aside, and a great variety of discordant views intimated or insisted upon. Statements are made in single sentences which are false, wicked, irreverent, almost impious, and are charged to the different speakers whom Job answers, while the Almighty himself is represented as answering Job. Now, wherein lies the inspiration and the infallibility of that book? In all its sentiments, or in a part of them? and in what part? Does the book contain a veritable narrative of real life, or is it an artificial composition, written to convey a great lesson? and how will this contingency affect its being referred to a Divine Source? Mark, now, how Pro-

* *Ibid.*, p. 158.

fessor Stuart utters himself on the main point:—"Not a few persons appeal to the speeches of Job, Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, and Elihu in support of *doctrinal* propositions; just as if these angry disputants, who contradict each other, and most of whom God himself has declared to be in the wrong (xlii. 7-9), were inspired when they disputed! The man who wrote the book, and gave an account of this dispute, might be—I believe he was—inspired; he had a great moral purpose in view; but how Job is to be appealed to for a sample of doctrine, who curses the day of his birth, and says many things under great excitement, I am not able to understand. Are we indeed to follow him in the sentiment of chap. xiv. 7, 10, 12? And are we to appeal to his angry friends, who are in the wrong as to the main point in question, for confirmation of a doctrinal sentiment of the Gospel? The practical amount of the matter is, that those who refer in such a way to this book merely select what they like, and leave the rest. They complain, however, in other cases, of doings like to this. They accuse the Unitarians and the Rationalists of very unfair and unscriptural practices, in so doing with other parts of the Bible."* Is not that frank speech from an Andover Professor? We apprehend that, if some preachers who have discoursed upon several texts from Job were to look sharply into the connection of those texts, they would find that they had taken some sentences as Divine oracles, uttered by inspiration from God, which are in fact false and wicked opinions expressed by men.

We have noted the reference made by Professor Stuart to a passage indicating Job's scepticism or unbelief in a future state. Yet it is from Job's lips that the beautiful sentences in the Liturgical Burial Service are taken, "For I know that my Redeemer liveth," &c. (xix. 25-27.) This passage has been read millions of times over human graves, under the impression entertained by Christian ministers, or at least encouraged by them for the comfort of mourners, that Job knew and prophesied of the coming of Christ, and also of the resurrection of the body. Professor Stuart says of the text, "It is constantly quoted to show the Patriarch's knowl-

* Critical History, &c., p. 144.

edge of a Messiah to come, and of the doctrine of the resurrection, notwithstanding the context, and the tenor of the whole book, are totally of a different nature." * Our readers are, doubtless, for the most part, well aware that a fair and just interpretation of the passage finds in it no such references; but that its meaning conveys the expression of Job's confidence that, *before* his diseased body should be brought to death, his *vindicator*, God, would make his innocence evident to living men on the earth, — a confidence which the event verified. The Presbyterian Dr. Barnes, in his Notes on Job, confesses to us with what a painful violence to fond associations, connected with the old version, he was forced to admit this true interpretation of the passage. Yet the reader who knows the superstitious as well as fond tenacity of prejudices linked with religious feeling, knows very well that a demonstration of an error in such a passage as this in our English Bibles would not persuade to its correction. The passage is a good one for use in an attempt to enlighten such persons — and there are many of them — as cling, with a puerile and sickly fancy, to all the weak supports which use or association has led them to regard as essential or helpful to their faith. They *wish to believe* that God dictated through Job the words on which we are remarking, as found in our English Bible. Suppose, however, they yield to the common-sense suggestion, that the translator happened to give to the passage a construction which it will not fairly admit; will their faith in truth be shaken by the removal of error? Still, let an appeal be made to "the Christian public," to have that passage correctly rendered, and what a storm would ensue in "the religious journals"!

A remark similar to that just made, in reference to the false and irreverent sentiments advanced in some sentences of the Book of Job, is equally pertinent — is indeed more emphatically applicable — to the Book of Ecclesiastes. Taking that composition as an essay on human life, in which the writer tells us how he was led on through sensuality and scepticism, with their temporary lures and mottoes and maxims, to the conclusion

* Critical History, &c., p. 409.

of all wisdom in the fear of God, we find the work to be of exalted value to us, a treasure and a guide. But in what sense are we to attribute inspiration to it? Are its sentiments inspired, or only its moral? Or shall we say, as Professor Stuart says of Job, that "the man who wrote it was inspired," allowing the inference that *what he wrote* is not inspired, — that *not all* which his pen put down partakes of his inspiration? When preachers take texts from that strange compound of Epicureanism and piety, what must they do about the old theory of an infallible inspiration?

In the Prophecy of Jeremiah, xxii. 24, 28–30, the Prophet says he was solemnly moved by God to utter a most fearful malediction on Jechoniah; he was to be cursed as childless, with no posterity to sit upon his throne. What are we to say, then, when, on turning to the genealogy of the Saviour, in Matthew i. 12, we find this "childless" man appearing as a parent, and holding his place in the ancestral lineage of the Messiah? What meaning or limitation has an infallible inspiration here? Again, the Book of Daniel, which reads as a wondrous prophecy of future events, is, with scarcely a shadow of doubt, a history of events that had already transpired cast into the form of predictions. If there is inspiration here, it would therefore seem to be of the *memory*. The Book of Esther, making no mention of God or of divine doctrine, seems to have been composed simply to account for the introduction of a fourth Jewish feast, — that of Purim. Professor Stuart makes a very impressive statement of the difficulties in the way of receiving some of the contents of this book even as veritable history, still more as inspired narrative. Yet through force of considerations satisfactory to his own mind, he concludes that we ought to regard it as in some sense inspired. The Song of Solomon is an utter scandal to many readers, and their offence at it is aggravated rather than relieved by the hard and far-fetched device of some fanciful commentators, who, without a shadow of reason, profess to find in it a fond portrayal of the love of Christ for his Church, under the guise of an amorous Jewish ditty. Professor Stuart's lucubrations on this matter are among the most extraordi-

nary utterances which the book has ever called forth; their squeamishness runs into pruriency. The unblushing presence of that "Song of Songs" in the Old Testament is enough to make all theologians and divines—to say nothing of unlearned Christians—grateful for each announcement and repetition of the suggestion, that the Old Testament *probably* embraced all the extant Hebrew literature.

Still another class of perplexities present themselves to our minds when, in view of the theory of an infallible inspiration, we attempt to form a satisfactory idea about the relation between the Old Testament and the New, as regards quotations from the former in the latter, represented as the fulfilment of prophecies. The allowance of the principle, that the New Testament writers often quote from the Old, and use the phrase "it was fulfilled" merely for *illustration* and by *accommodation*, without implying prophecy, is an adequate solution of all the difficulties in the case. But this principle is so undefined in its applications as to leave the popular theory of the Bible at strange hazard. Quite a courageous announcement of the principle was made by Dr. Hey, a Divinity Professor in Cambridge University, England, as follows: "One thing which has occasioned difficulty is quotations of prophecies being introduced with '*that it might be fulfilled*'; but this is mere idiom; it means no more than *à propos* does in French, or than our saying, 'I dreamt of you last night; now I meet you, the dream is out.'"* Stuart seems to admit the same principle, in recognizing quotations in which the fulfilment "consists in the striking points of resemblance."†

A still graver question presents itself when we ask if it was possible for the Christian Apostles, the writers of the New Testament, to fall into mistakes incidentally at least connected with the substance and history of the Gospel religion. We shall shortly note some remarkable concessions on this point from the pens of the ablest modern scholars and critics in nominally Orthodox communions. But we have in view now the matter of

* Lectures in Divinity, Vol. I. p. 259.

† Critical History, &c., p. 340.

infallible inspiration. When Peter and Paul differed, that is, in plain English, quarrelled, about the Judaizing element which some wished to connect with the adoption of the Gospel by the Gentiles, when Paul "withstood Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed" (Galat. ii. 11), on which side was the *inspiration*? If with both of them, as we believe it was, it must have consisted with *fallibility* in one of them. To what limitation must Paul's inspiration have been subject to account for the fact that he did not know that it was the high-priest whom he had just rebuked? (Acts xxiii. 5.) How are we to account for a fact of which the fresh pages of an Andover periodical now before us remind us, that "Matthew says that our Lord ate his Last Supper with his disciples on the evening of the Passover, and John that he ate it the evening before the Passover?" *

Now is the question, whether God has made a revelation of religious truths to the world, to be burdened with all these perplexities, or to stand clear of them? That question is to be decided by the possibility and the success of an attempt to reconstruct, not a rigid theory, but a satisfactory view of the authority, the inspiration, and the value of those various records which are contained in the Bible. "Perhaps," says the author of "Rational Godliness," "a greatness and a place not far from the Apostles in the kingdom of heaven may be reserved for some one who, in true holiness and humility of heart, shall be privileged to accomplish this work." †

All these suggestions of perplexity, with all the specific materials of them, may be sadly exaggerated, or they may be regarded as of very trifling consequence. The way in which they ought to be dealt with after they have presented themselves to our notice, offers, after all, the most essential difficulty in the case. Unitarians believe that they may be reasonably, fairly, and candidly disposed of, in perfect harmlessness to our faith. Unitarians also affirm that these perplexities have been aggravated by being blinked or denied, by being treated with shirks and evasions, with forced constructions, and with alarming appeals and remonstrances, as if faith were per-

* Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1856, p. 678.

† Page 307.

illed by recognizing or discussing them. It is our own conviction, that pages may be found in some works written in defence of the Bible actually more prejudicial to a healthful faith in its blessed revelations than anything that can be found in infidel works. Worse than all the difficulties presented by the Bible are many of the crooked and jesuitical pretences for their solution. There are precious works in our language, erudite, reverential, and honest, chiefly from the pens of those whom, in the best sense of the epithet, we may call *Liberal* Christians, in which most of the perplexities which we encounter have been treated with caution and wisdom. Grotius, Le Clerc, Locke, and Lardner, and many of the contributors to that admirable repository called *Watson's Tracts*, collected and indorsed by the excellent Bishop himself, have anticipated and dispelled our fears in the direction of biblical criticism.

Solemn, therefore, is the obligation to which truth commits all those who in this age of the world would defend an intelligent faith in the Bible, to announce only such a theory concerning its authority and its divine inspiration as is consistent with its own contents. The strong must in many things bear the infirmities of the weak, but ministers and theological teachers have had many a serious warning against that extreme deference to old wives' fables and old wives' prejudices which many of them have exhibited in attempting to gloss over such phenomena of the Bible as they were afraid fairly to recognize. Do not the strong, those who will be strong in unbelief and in hostility to the sacred mysteries of faith if they are fed on the husks of superstition, deserve some regard? Are all the secret strivings of the robust and inquisitive and sceptical to pass for naught, that the silly notions and the anile prejudices of those who are willing to pin their faith upon the assertions of a narrow-minded religious exhorter may be kindly fostered?

But we have solid material yet to work into this essay. We revert to the fundamental question of Inspiration. The Orthodox theory is untenable; it is burdened with mischief. Over and over again it quotes the misused text, interpolated with a word which turns its noble truth into a falsehood: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable," &c. 2 Tim. iii. 16. The in-

ference drawn from this perverted text is, that all the promiscuous writings embraced in the Old Testament were dictated by God. Common sense might suggest even the grammar rule to be applied to this passage as meaning, "Every divinely-inspired writing is also profitable," &c.

Professor Gaussen, of Geneva, may be taken as the living representative and advocate of a theory of Inspiration which was maintained by the Orthodox at the origin of the Unitarian Controversy here, but which may now be pronounced as utterly discredited by all scrupulous and competent biblical scholars. We leave to those who are concerned in the more than equivocal case presented to us to reconcile the ostensible public approbation which the Orthodox party have extended to Gaussen's work, with what the leaders of that party must know to be untenable in its main positions.* The following extracts will show with what a recklessness of consequences this modern Genevan divine ventures to affirm positions which common sense falsifies. Speaking of the writers of the Scriptures, Gaussen† says: "Whether they record mysteries antecedent to creation, or those of a futurity more remote than the return of the Son of Man; or the eternal counsels of the Most High; the secrets of the heart of man, or the deep things of God; whether they describe their own emotions, speak of things from recollection, or repeat what has been noted by contemporaries; whether they copy genealogies, or extract from uninspired documents; their writing is inspired; what they pen is dictated from on high; it is always God who speaks, who relates, ordains, or reveals by their mouth," &c. (p. 2.) Again, he says: "We have next to inquire, whether the parts of Scripture which are *divinely inspired* are so equally and entirely;

* At least two editions have been published in this country of Rev. E. N. Kirk's English Translation of Gaussen's fuller work, entitled "Theopneusty, or the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures." This work has been largely indorsed by "the religious journals" of various Orthodox communions around us. The terms of Christian courtesy which we desire to regard in all things restrain the utterance of our own feelings in reference to the policy which attempts to recommend such daring and defiant assertions as those of Gaussen.

† "It is written"; or, The Scriptures the Word of God. From the French of Professor Gaussen. London: Bagster and Sons.

or, in other words, whether God has provided in a certain, though mysterious manner, that even the words of the sacred volume should be invariably what they ought to be, and that they contain nothing erroneous. This we assert to be the fact." (p. 4.) Again: "Jesus said, 'It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than for one particle of a letter of the Law to fail,' and by the term *Law* Jesus Christ understood the whole of the Scriptures, and even more particularly the Book of Psalms. What words can be conceived which would express with more force and precision the principle we are maintaining than the foregoing? I mean the principle of the plenary inspiration and everlasting character of all the parts, even to the very letter of the Scriptures. All the words of the Scriptures, even to the least letter and particle of a letter, are equal to the words of Jesus Christ himself. Students of the Word of God, behold then the theology of your Master!" (p. 54.) This reckless writer, when proffering to meet the objections which assail his theory, says: "We will begin by acknowledging that, if it were true that there are erroneous facts and contradictory narratives in the Holy Scriptures, we must renounce the defence of their plenary inspiration. But we can make no such admission. These pretended errors do not exist." (p. 81.) Our readers would hardly care to know how a man who is capable of making such an assertion would try to vindicate it in reference to specific cases of difficulty. We can assure them, however, that his method is tortuous and jesuitical in the worst sense.

If our object were to sow discord among those who suppose that opposition to Unitarian views of the Bible is a bond of union among themselves and a warrant for their own common Orthodoxy, we might make some developments here of quite a startling character. But the exhibition would be painful to all who hold the Christian name, to all who love and cherish the Bible as the most precious of our earthly possessions. We will confront Gaussen's views with but moderate rebukes, conveyed, like those we have already quoted from Dr. Williams, by men of highest honor and credit. Professor Stuart's "*Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon*," which is to be regarded as the fruit

of his life-long labors in a beloved pursuit, is a most curious exhibition of weakness and strength, of boldness signified in passing hints, and of timidity manifested in deference to weak sisters and weaker brethren. He makes admissions on nearly every page which are fatal to the positions advanced by Gaussen, though to the uninitiated in critical linguistic skill he appears to plead for the old Orthodox notions of the Bible. His kindly, sometimes humorous, but altogether risky way, of letting out an acknowledgment of the embarrassments of his theory, really invests his work with a sort of mischievous charm. He wrote the work professedly to rebuke and answer views advanced by Unitarians, especially some extreme positions of Mr. Norton that have not found adoption, so far as we are aware, by any other member of our brotherhood. But the kind-hearted Andover Professor has proved himself a prime offender in the same outrages which Unitarians have been charged with upon "a settled faith in the Bible." Notwithstanding some sharp rebukes of the rationalizers, some little positive dogmatism, some cautious salvos, and some unsupported assertions and conclusions of his own, it is utterly impossible for an intelligent reader to close his book without recognizing its author as a heretic of the first water, in view of the old theory of the inspired infallibility of the miscellaneous contents of the Bible. Apart from such acknowledgments of opinion as these, — that Ecclesiastes was not written by Solomon, nor Joshua by Joshua, that Job was probably written during the time of the Kings, that Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, Esther and Jonah, present inexplicable difficulties to us, and that quotations of seemingly prophetic passages from the Old Testament may be made in the New by *accommodation*, — the whole spirit of his work tends to qualify and chasten, rather than to favor, the fond dream of an infallible Bible.

One of the noblest fruits of a revived zeal in England for critical Scriptural study, is the revision of the Greek Testament, with a most scholarly apparatus, by Henry Alford, B. D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and now a minister of the Established Church in London. There is an honorable frankness in such passages as follow from his pen.

"Christian commentators have been driven to a system of harmonizing which condescends to adopt the weakest compromises, and to do the utmost violence to probability and fairness, in its zeal for the veracity of the Evangelists. Equally unworthy of the Evangelists and their subject has been the course of those who are usually thought the *Orthodox Harmonists*. They have usually taken upon them to state, that such variously placed narratives [as those of incidents and discourses in which the Evangelists differ and appear to have confounded the order of time and circumstance] *do not refer to the same incidents*, and so to save, as they imagine, the credit of the Evangelists at the expense of common fairness and candor. Christianity never was, and never can be, the gainer by any concealment, warping, or avoidance of the plain truth, wherever it is to be found."*

"With regard to verbal inspiration, I take the sense of it, as explained by its most strenuous advocates, to be, that every word and phrase of the Scriptures is absolutely and separately true, and, whether narrative or discourse, took place or was said in every most exact particular as set down. Much might be said of the *a priori* unworthiness of such a theory, as applied to a Gospel whose character is the freedom of the spirit, not the bondage of the letter; but it belongs more to my present work to try it by applying it to the Gospels as we have them. And I do not hesitate to say, that, being thus applied, its effect will be to destroy altogether the credibility of our Evangelists. The fact is, that this theory [of verbal inspiration] uniformly gives way before intelligent study of the Scriptures themselves, and is only held consistently and thoroughly by those who have never undertaken that study. When put forth by those who have, it is never carried fairly through; but while broadly asserted, is in detail abandoned. If I understand *plenary inspiration* rightly, I hold it to the *utmost* as entirely consistent with the opinions expressed in this section. The inspiration of the sacred writers I believe to have consisted in the fulness of the influence of the Holy Spirit specially raising them to, and enabling them for, their work, *in a manner which distin-*

* Prolegomena, Chap. I. § IV.

guishes them from all other writers in the world, and their work from all other works. The men were full of the Holy Ghost, the books are the pouring out of that fullness through the men,—the conservation of the treasure in earthen vessels. The treasure is ours in all its richness, but it is ours as only it can be ours, in the imperfections of human speech, in the limitation of human thought, in the variety incident first to individual character, and then to manifold transcription and the lapse of ages.” *

We heartily accord with these noble statements. The passages which we have last quoted from Mr. Alford, if they were left without illustration, might be pronounced vague and dubious. We therefore add in illustration of them a passage which precedes them in his own Dissertation.

“There are certain minor points of accuracy or inaccuracy of which human research suffices to inform men, and on which, from want of that research, it is often the practice to speak vaguely and inexactly. Such are sometimes the conventionally received distances from place to place; such are the common accounts of phenomena in natural history, &c. Now in matters of this kind the Evangelists and Apostles were not supernaturally informed, but left, in common with others, to the guidance of their natural faculties. The same may be said of citations and dates from history. In the last apology of Stephen, which he spoke being full of the Holy Ghost, and with divine influence beaming from his countenance, we have at least two demonstrable historical inaccuracies. And the occurrence of similar ones in the Gospels does not in any way affect the inspiration or the veracity of the Evangelists.” † Again we say, he speaks for us.

Turning to the passage in Acts vii. 14, 16, where Stephen, as Mr. Alford suggests, “in haste or inadvertence,” made these two “mistakes,”—of naming three score and fifteen souls instead of *seventy*, and calling the burial-place Sychem instead of *Hebron*,—we find the following manly comment from our author.

“The fact of the mistake occurring where it does, will

* Proleg. Chap. I. § VI.

† Ibid.

be far more instructive to the Christian student than the most ingenious solution of the difficulty could be, if it teaches him fearlessly and honestly to recognize the phenomena presented by the text of Scripture, instead of wresting them to suit a preconceived theory."

Similar to this is Mr. Alford's comment on 1 Cor. x. 8, where the Apostle mistakes 23,000 for 24,000 (see Numbers xxv. 9): "Probably set down here from memory. The subtleties of commentators in order to escape the inference [of error in the Apostle] are discreditable alike to themselves and the cause of sacred truth."

On Romans xiii. 11 our author comments thus, in reference to the much vexed matter of the Apostolic delusion as to the immediate coming of the end of the world: "A fair exegesis of this passage can hardly fail to recognize the fact, that the Apostle here as elsewhere (1 Thess. iv. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 51) speaks of the coming of our Lord as *rapidly approaching*. Professor Stuart (Commentary on Romans, p. 521) is shocked at the idea, as being inconsistent with the inspiration of his writings. How this can be, I am at a loss to imagine [then quoting Mark xiii. 32]. And to reason, as Stuart does, that, because Paul corrects, in the Thessalonians, the mistake of imagining it to be *immediately at hand*, therefore he did not himself expect it soon, is surely quite beside the purpose."

It is possible that Mr. Alford may not have looked carefully through all the pages of Professor Stuart's voluminous Commentary; if he had, he could scarcely have failed at being amused or startled by what we are about to quote. When we consider how Unitarians have been berated for saying substantially what we are now to read, we remind ourselves that the odor of Orthodoxy will often neutralize the flavor of heresy. Recalling the horror with which, at the opening of our controversy, the assertion that the Apostles might possibly be mistaken, was received from our side, let the reader mark how frankly Professor Stuart could say the same under the protection of his Orthodox reputation. In his comment on Rom. i. 13 he writes: "One thing is clear, that the Apostles were not *uniformly* and *always* guided, in *all* their thoughts, desires, and purposes, by an infallible spirit of inspiration. Those who plead for

such a *uniform* inspiration may seem to be zealous for the honor of the Apostles and founders of Christianity, but they do in fact cherish a mistaken zeal. Those who maintain the *uniform* inspiration of the Apostles, and yet admit (as they are compelled to do) their errors in purpose, word, and action, do in effect obscure the glory of inspiration by reducing inspired and uninspired men to the same level. To my own mind, nothing appears more certain than that inspiration in any respect whatever was not abiding and uniform with Apostles or any of the primitive Christians. [To Jesus only, adds the commentator, was unmeasured and permanent inspiration given.] This view of the subject frees it from many and most formidable difficulties. It assigns to the Saviour the pre-eminence which is justly due. It accounts for the mistakes and errors of his Apostles. At the same time it does not detract in the least degree from the certainty and validity of the Apostolic sayings and doings, when these ministers of the Gospel were under the special influence of the Spirit of God."

"*When they were under,*" &c. We draw the reader's attention to this loose but convenient expression of Professor Stuart, but must leave the point without further remark, except the simple suggestion that an admission of a single instance of mistake, or error "in purpose, word, or action" in the Apostles, impairs the inspired infallibility of their teachings and writings, and leaves every reader to draw the line as best he can in deciding the authority of Scripture.

Dr. Arnold candidly yields the point that Paul did erroneously believe and teach that the world was coming to an end in his own generation.* Mr. Stanley, also of Oxford, another of the advanced minds of the English Church, the biographer of Dr. Arnold, and the son and biographer of the good Bishop of Norwich, makes the same admission. Mr. Stanley seems to feel less anxiety in allowing Paul's error here, than in reference to another serious matter. The Apostle, in that precious chapter to the Corinthians on the Resurrection (1 Cor. xv.), asks, "What shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all?" (ver. 29.) Mr.

* *Christian Life, Notes*, pp. 488, 489.

Stanley remarks upon these words: "Their natural signification undoubtedly is, 'Those who are baptized vicariously for the dead,' and this meaning is strongly confirmed by finding that there were some sects in the first three centuries, one at least of which extends back to the Apostolical age, who had this practice. From Chrysostom we learn (accompanied by an apology for convulsing his audience with laughter at the account of a ceremony so ridiculous) that, 'after a catechumen [dying unbaptized] was dead,' (implying that it was chiefly in such cases that it took place,) 'they hid a living man under the bed of the deceased; then coming to the dead man they spoke to him, and asked him whether he would receive baptism; and he making no answer, the other replied in his stead, and so they baptized the living for the dead.'"^{*} Here the Apostle evidently adduces the *disappointment* of those who practised such a superstition, as one of the deplorable disappointments of a Christian's faith which would result from the falsification of his doctrine of the resurrection. How could he make such a reference in a way rather to countenance than rebuke the superstition? Mr. Stanley notes the methods to which recourse has been had for "escaping from the difficulty." He himself accounts it to the Apostle's habit "of accommodation to the feelings and opinions" of those whom he addressed, as in "his frequent adoption of reasonings founded on the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, in which, indeed, the Apostle may, to a certain extent, have shared himself," &c.

Mr. Jowett, in his work on some of Paul's Epistles, even treats us to an essay on the Apostle's mistake in reference to the end of the world, and other subjects on which he was in error. The discussion is a reverent one, but it goes deep into the heart of a matter vital to this question of inspired infallibility in the teachings and writings embraced in the Bible. The single point of an error as to the immediate conflagration of the world, if confined to its own subject-matter, might seem of limited importance; but the question forces itself upon the thought of a serious and inquisitive reader, May

^{*} Stanley on Corinthians, Vol. I. p. 372.

not the Apostle's expectation on this point have affected all his teachings, have colored all his doctrines; and especially, did it not intensify, aggravate, and throw out of just proportions, his relative estimate of a Christian's duty to despise this life, in reference to a life to come? An interest in the affairs of this world, in marrying and giving in marriage, in buying and selling, in providing for and educating one's children, and in establishing the institutions of society on a firm foundation,—an interest in such matters of reasonable forethought, is one thing, if the consummation of all terrestrial concerns is to be looked for within a score of years, and it is a wholly different thing if “the time is *not* short,” and “the day of the Lord is *not* at hand.” It might not be difficult to show that the alarmed and expectant state, the forced superiority to all worldly interests, and the tone of “heavenly-mindedness,” which the Apostle commended to his converts in view of the coming of the Lord while some of his generation were yet alive, have introduced some exaggerated or disproportioned conceptions into the idea of “true piety.” Certainly the fact that “the coming of the Lord” may be realized to any one of us individually at any moment of our uncertain lives, will make motives drawn from such a possibility always harmless and always of a wholesome influence over us. Still the question whether the Apostles believed that this world was to be the scene of Christian conflict during unnumbered ages of the slow triumph of the kingdom of God, or that it was to be burned up and its judgment sealed within a score or two of years, cannot be regarded as irrelevant to a discussion of the inspired infallibility of their teachings.

And this question does but logically and fairly open the way to yet another question, which goes deeper into the profound speculations of our modern Christian commentators. Mr. Stanley puts the query in this plain form: “Is the representation of Christ in the Epistles the same as the representation of Christ in the Gospels? Is the ‘Gospel’ of the Evangelical Apostle different from the ‘Gospel’ of the Evangelistic narratives?”* We know that some of the fellow-laborers of Paul in-

* Stanley on Corinthians, Vol. II. p. 276.

timated that he "had not seen the Lord Jesus," that he was not truly an "Apostle of Christ," and that "he taught things contrary to Christ's teaching." The phenomena which indicate diversity of view or doctrine among the Apostles must of course engage our attention. We must remember that the Judaizing party was not confined to uninspired disciples, but involved the heralds of the Gospel also. Therefore it is not wholly without a show of reason that some scholarly critics have declared, and some unlearned readers have imagined, that when amid local controversies and under technicalities of language the Gospel was preached in Judæa, Samaria, Asia Minor, and Rome, the simplicity of its pure evangelic doctrine was to a perceptible degree impaired. Orthodoxy, on the one hand, objects to what it calls the ingenuities of Unitarian criticism in putting a gloss upon the technicalities or the rhetoric of some sentences in the Epistles; but on the other hand it works up most elaborate and intricate speculations upon those mysterious profundities of spiritual experience and of "the plan of redemption" which it finds intimated in the same sentences. Is it probable, now, that the unsophisticated minds to which the Gospel was offered, "the poor," the "babes in Christ," whether Jew or Gentile, could enter into the philosophy of Orthodoxy? Mr. Jowett, with his very keen, but by no means irreverent method of analysis, goes perhaps a little farther in the direction of allowance for an Apostolic adulteration of the pure Gospel, than even our own brethren might approve. But the issue itself which is covered by all these questions is one that has very momentous bearings upon our present theme, and while it tasks the noblest powers of an intellect trained in Gospel humility, it refuses to be pronounced upon by dogmatism or by the deprecatory ban of the alarmist.

We hope that we have made it appear that much of all this critical work of studying and testing the Bible stands above any sectarian object, and designs, in the full earnestness of a purpose common to all who love the Scriptures, to sustain their authority, to remove prejudices, to ward off assaults, and to make them more and more precious to the whole race of men. Of course we maintain, because we believe, and may even say that we

know, that false doctrine is indebted for some of its credit to erroneous views of Scripture, to unfair constructions of texts. Those who are not familiar with the processes of critical study have no adequate conception of the range over which Scriptural criticism, when intelligent, keen, and thorough, and still reverent, may extend. Many who read the Bible in English come almost to forget that it was ever translated; that when it was translated, it was by men like ourselves, from manuscript parchments written by men like ourselves; that, since our translation was made, many old and very valuable manuscripts have been discovered; and that our knowledge of the original languages and of Oriental history and life has greatly increased. Certainly in view of all these facts one should not marvel that there are materials and grounds for much fair criticism of the English Bible. Nor can an intelligent reader, however vigorous his faith, resist the impression, when perusing those portions, especially of the Old Testament, which are contemporaneous with our earliest classical literature, that the spirit of the writers often presents as *miraculous* what under other circumstances would have been regarded as natural. The religious consciousness of the Jews that they were under a peculiar providential training, may reasonably and reverently be supposed to have dictated much in the records which represents God as nearer to them than to the rest of his children on the earth.

Again, few persons are aware what a range of meaning and interpretation may be covered by a few important words and phrases and sentences. The ambiguities of language, its idioms, its duplicated relations to sense and soul, the associations acquired by words from technical use, from prevailing theories of life and truth, and from each one's own private experience and culture, all gather their richest, as well as their most perplexing and misleading materials, about the Bible. Scholars here have an advantage in some respects above the unlearned, but in many cases scholars are baffled. Take, for instance, a sentence from the Gospel which has no connection with doctrinal controversy. Jesus says to Martha, as we read his words, "But one thing is needful." (Luke x. 42.) We ask what the words mean.

Now the wisest scholar on the earth cannot pronounce positively, or give us a decisive reason on the one side or the other, for interpreting the passage to mean, "Only one article of food is necessary for me"; or, "Only one thing — religion — is necessary for you." And then there is matter for whole libraries of curious and searching criticism, for learned commentaries and scholarly investigation, in debating the meaning of many words and phrases in the Bible which have been invested with paramount interest by our controversies. Is the Scriptural phrase "Son of God" used to express the peculiar fondness and nearness of a relation of obedient holiness, or an actual "Sonship" in a sense answering to the earthly tie between a father and a child? The sentences, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood," open the issue about Transubstantiation between Romanists and Protestants; but when Orthodox Protestantism has availed itself of a certain method of interpretation in fixing the sense of those sentences, it turns against us when we apply the same method upon other sentences. When the terrified Pagan jailer asks, "What shall I do to be saved?" Orthodoxy supposes him to have been struck with what it defines as *conviction*, and to have been instantly directed to trust in Christ in the sense of an expiation. Thousands and thousands of sermons have been preached under that view of the text. Is the view justified? The words Faith, Salvation, Justification, Election, Eternal, and many more, which either are used in peculiar senses in the Bible, or have been turned to peculiar uses because they are in the Bible, carry with them now an equal weight of importance from doctrinal theology and the science of criticism.

Another very serious question, which is claimed to be exclusively within the province of fair criticism, asks whether the use of certain technical terms, and the reference to certain current views in popular language, by the Saviour and his Apostles, do or do not ratify the doctrines or opinions supposed to be conveyed in such terms and such language. By the decision pronounced upon that question the doctrine of a *Personal Devil*, and the reality of the *possession* of human beings by his emissaries, will be affirmed either to have been substantiated

by the Saviour and his Apostles, or to have been only incidentally noticed by them, without receiving any authentication from such notice.

Occasionally, in the works of disputants at the present day who have had a scholarly training, we meet with what seems to us an obstinate persistency in maintaining certain readings and constructions, and certain corrupted texts, which have been fairly and fully condemned on adequate authority. Then we are led to ask, To what end do patient explorers hunt out old manuscripts and edit their recensions, — to what end do munificent donors found libraries and theological professorships, and multiply all the critical helps of grammars, dictionaries, and commentaries, — if from our seats of sacred scholarship are to come renewed appeals to old prejudices, pleas in defence of old errors, and flat denials of any real progress?

We must reach the conclusion of our present task by a statement of the results to which it leads us. We have in our hands a volume which bears to us the highest character for holiness and truth. We receive it as an actual communication from another world; while the alternative of holding right or wrong views concerning the book is made to suspend the question, whether it can be regarded and proved to be precious and authoritative as such an alleged divine gift should be. The Bible has been assaulted by hostile criticism; a standard has been set for it by men, which is denied to be warranted by its own claims or contents; flaws have been found in it which cannot be repaired in consistency with once prevailing views of its infallibility and its verbal inspiration. The close and rigid study and criticism to which modern scholarship has subjected it, have pretty well settled, in the minds of its most intelligent readers, the decision, that some qualifications and limitations must be allowed in abatement of the positive standard that has been claimed for it. It is deemed by Unitarians the part of simple honesty and wisdom to make this concession, and to insist upon its being made. Without forgetting the respect due to those who do not accord with them, and recognizing the honorable motives of some who carry special pleading in support of a crippled tradition beyond what seem to be the bounds of

candor or justice, Unitarians hold that an attempt to sustain such a view of the inspiration of the Bible as has been reasserted by Gaussen, subjects the interests of true faith and piety to a fearful risk. The fact that some persons are willing to avert their own gaze from all the real difficulties of the case, will not close the eyes or silence the complaints of others. That the strong and childlike in the docility of faith are ready to believe in behalf of the Bible that full explanations may at one time or another be given to all its historical, scientific, or critical perplexities, ought not to make them obstinate or unjust in slighting the embarrassments of faith for such as may value the Bible as highly as themselves.

Within the last few years we have had offered to us the best fruits of long and anxious discussions upon the authority and the interpretation of the Scriptures. Angry controversies, venturesome scepticism, perilous and reckless audacity in theorizing, have mingled largely, but we must think only incidentally, in the great work of Scriptural criticism. We would by no means undertake to justify the positions which some even of the most eminent among Unitarian interpreters have taken. Far otherwise. Our own humble opinion is, that in general we have made larger concessions to what threatened to be a destructive criticism, than the emergencies of the case have really been proved to demand. For ourselves, we yield only inch by inch, and then only when the necessity is fairly made out, in each instance which qualifies the highest possible view of the authority and the inspiration of the chief contents of the Bible. But when any demand is fairly made out, we pay our homage to truth under the form of concessions to it, not under the form of obstinate denials of its presence. It is with a profound satisfaction that we now find in the works of distinguished scholars and divines, nominally of various creeds, admissions, full, frank, and complete, of views advanced by Unitarians in qualification of the popular estimate of the Bible, and in the general and specific applications of criticism to important texts. Gaussen has indeed received the indorsement of Orthodox "religious journals." Let us see how the mature views of Tholuck, as they are now obtaining currency, will be treated by those who have heretofore given him their

love and confidence. Neander has strained the elasticity of Orthodox attachment to its utmost limits by his historical, doctrinal, and symbolic construction of Christian ideas. Bunsen and Tholuck have yet a reputé to keep, but if they retain it, let them prize it as generous.

If we bring into close comparison some of the lectures, essays, or sermons of eminent modern writers, Orthodox and Unitarian, upon the inspiration and authority of the text of Scripture, we are struck with the following difference in their tenor,—the difference shall stand as one of great or of little moment, as our readers shall choose. The elaborate Orthodox essay begins, takes its start, opens, with bolder assertions of Infallibility and Plenary Inspiration than we could make, pitched in the old tone, as if announcing the old theory in a way determined to maintain it, stiffly, resolutely, and defiantly. But read on carefully, and you will find admissions cautiously, timidly yielded, forced out by facts which are not to be winked out of sight when such men as Professor Stuart, J. P. Smith, Arnold, Alford, Jowett, and Tholuck have their eyes turned upon them. When you reach the end of the essay, you will find that every allowance has been granted that you think is essential, and that the conclusion is in marked contrast with the beginning. You may think of the text, "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off." On the other hand, a similar essay by a Unitarian will *begin* with perhaps an excessive allowance of concessions,—with an admission of all the necessary qualifications and limitations of the claim of inspiration. It will have in view, at the start, the difficulties which are to be encountered. Therefore it will not open so boldly or defiantly as an Orthodox essay. But when it has made its concessions, it will hold resolutely to the main substance, the essential truth, the kernel of the nut which is within the shell. The contents of the two essays will have more in common than we should by any means expect. In some cases we might even conceive that, if they had come from the same printing-office, some labor of *composition* might have been saved by *transposing* and *overrunning* pages or paragraphs. Is the difference of great or of little moment?

We must be supposed to have intimated all through our discussion our own views upon the serious themes involved in it. If any one asks, To what extent must the popular estimate of the authority and inspiration of the Bible, as a whole, be reduced? what limitations are to be defined for denial? what position is to be assumed for rebuilding a new citadel of faith? we can but answer, The Christian scholarship of this and of the next ages will decide those questions. Our province has been merely to redeem these momentous issues from the contempt of a poor sectarian strife.

The most favorable position for the attainment of just views on this great subject is that which is occupied by a faithful and devout Christian minister, who has received the best intellectual culture of his time. The most thorough critical study of the Bible in private, and a daily application of its lessons to the sins and sorrows, the duties and the straits of human life, are the two conditions which must meet and harmonize. The critical study of the Bible, with no reference to its uses "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," will be sure to turn the most devout man into the coldest of sceptics. On the other hand, a devout exhorter, with his thumbs and fingers inserted in the Bible ready to turn to any part of it for words which he ascribes directly to God, if his ignorance exposes him to recklessness, and his feeling runs into rant, will make infidels of the majority of his hearers, and fanatics of the rest. The educated and devout minister alone can meet the emergencies of the case. His critical studies, his knowledge of the unbelieving, as well as of the "religious" world, will keep him mindful of the perplexities which faith in its relation to the historical records of a revelation must present, and will lead him continually to draw from his own triumphs over struggle and doubt the wisest aid in dealing with the difficulties of others. His use of the Bible in the pulpit and in the sick-chamber, as the inestimable and inexhaustible source of all holy lessons which have power over the soul of man and can alone sanctify life and cheer affliction, will day by day renew his grateful confidence in the preciousness of the sacred volume. He knows that it is the world's only light, law,

and hope. The very conventionalities of his office, the very straits of his daily and weekly duties, require that those to whom he ministers should with him believe and love the Bible. The measure of his power over the sinful and the afflicted — and those terms embrace all that live — is proportioned to the vigor of his own faith, and to the depth of his own experimental acquaintance with the truths conveyed in the Bible. He is in every way concerned that faith in it should reach the highest possible height, and that gratitude and reverence for it should know no abatement. For many weary centuries the piety of Christendom was kept alive by the Romish priest without the Bible. It will be hard if that piety cannot live with a brighter and purer vigor through the Protestant minister with the Bible.

Let us have no fear of the work of scholarly and reverent criticism upon Scripture. It is in the hands of men and women who too well know its worth to allow it to suffer from the very inquisition which tests its value. We know nothing beyond what the Bible teaches us in any direction or upon any subject in which it undertakes to instruct us. One barrier is fixed; one limit is certain; one condition, known from the beginning, still stands unchallenged, — the Divine element in the Bible always has exceeded, exceeds now, and always will be acknowledged as exceeding, its human element. The Bible has floated on the sea of human life, below which so much has sunk of the ever-changing interests, and of the ever-changing generations, of men. Or rather it has risen from that sea as an island rock, and has heard the storms of ages, and has been lashed by all the waves that have tossed us and our poor barks. Can we find a better anchorage?

G. E. E.

ART. VII. — MILMAN'S LATIN CHRISTIANITY.*

THEY who love ease and clearness in writing, especially if they have just risen from the graceful flow of Prescott, the free and almost careless perspicuity of Irving, the solid straightforwardness of Sparks, the nervous compression of Bancroft, the brilliant fervor of Motley, or the graphic skill of Parkman, will find much to be forgiven in the historic style of Dr. Milman. If that of Mr. Macaulay, with its lavish wealth, its unerring accuracy, its perpetual insisting on being perfectly understood, is the very finest in the English tongue, that of his friend the Dean of St. Paul's is so artificial and stiff, with its elliptical, involved, and dislocated sentences, as frequently to impede and perplex its readers. If in the "History of England from the Accession of James II." we are continually pausing or going back as we read, for the sake of deepening the effect in our memory, or of prolonging our delight, in the "History of Latin Christianity" we feel compelled to repeat the same process with the very different view of disentangling the meaning, or from a grammatical curiosity to straighten out a tangled braid into some natural order.

In a notice of the first three volumes of this work,† we spoke with some particularity of these faults of Dr. Milman's style of composition. The less need be said of them here. He himself, in a short note prefixed to the fourth volume, says: "Some, even of my most friendly critics, have observed certain negligences and inaccuracies of style in the former volumes. Most of these, if I may not venture to say all, are to be traced to errors of the press and of punctuation; some few, perhaps, to an injudicious attempt at too close condensation of the multifarious materials." Without saying — as it might be said — that the condensation need not have been so close if the materials had been made more select, and if there had been introduced fewer names that no one remembers, and fewer events that

* *History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V.* By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. Vols. IV., V., and VI. London. 1855. pp. 1719.

† *Christian Examiner* for September, 1854.

have no special significance, we must reply, with all respect for the learned author, that our own objections are not avoided or lessened by this acknowledgment. It is true that the punctuation was faulty, and so continues to be; that the printers' mistakes were numerous, and do not seem to be much diminished in the present volumes. But the blemishes lie deeper than such accidents. They are those of study and evident choice, and such as none but scholars incur. Words may be chosen too ambitiously or too setly, as well as too carelessly, and they may be marshalled together with a perverted skill, to which we should prefer the most colloquial homeliness.

These concluding volumes present fewer points of historic interest than their predecessors. The heroic age of Christian endurance, with its struggles and martyrdoms, had long been over. The great Fathers of the rising Church were all asleep. The heroic age of Christian aggression had now also passed. The great missionaries of a ruling Church rested from their labors. Europe was converted, as well as Latin Christianity knew how to do it, and almost as widely as it ever was able to do it. St. Dunstan vanished into the dark some centuries before, leaving a strange smell behind him very unlike the odor of sanctity, and suggesting the doubt whether the ruffian or the rogue were the more predominant in him. St. Thomas of Canterbury had but just retired from the history and legend, with his romantic Saracen princess who never existed, and his substantial shrine that is visited to this day. The canonized Abbot of Clairvaux, who has been called the last of the principal line of ecclesiastical teachers, composed his last hymn not a great while before, and had his last controversy with the mighty mind of that Abelard, who wrote like a free-thinker and lived like a devotee, and has filled the heart of the whole world with tenderness at the story of his love and sorrow. The second of the Crusades, which this same Abbot Bernard stirred up by his burning eloquence, had but lately spent its rage and exhausted all its stores of misery. The Romish hierarchy had reached its highest pitch of insolent power, and was presently to begin to decline from its supremacy, though not from its pretension, after the time of the very Innocent III. with whom the first of these new volumes begins.

In him that most astounding despotism culminated. And as we follow it through its waning but always mighty dominion, and its deepening depravities,—through the ferocity and the tricks by which it strove to keep its loosening hold on the principalities of the earth, and the keys of the invisible world, and the intellect and the conscience of mankind,—it affords a dismal study where instruction has to be bought with so much resentment and disgust. They are ugly things to look at,—Clements without pity, Celestins seeking only the kingdoms of this world, and Gregorys earning their title of Watchful by nothing so much as by their alacrity to overreach and spoil; Innocents like spotted adders, and Urbans like wild beasts; Bonifaces who did nothing but evil continually, and Benedicts whose memory is accursed.

Under this disadvantage of a diminished interest in his subject-matter, Dean Milman here closes his labors on "*Latin Christianity*." And he closes them at a rather early period; the greater part of a century before the Saxon revolt from the Romish usurpation. In this he again lays himself open to some slight questioning. If there was a puzzle and some confusion at the outset, as to where the *History of Latin Christianity* should begin,—as we indicated in a former article,—a similar difficulty arises here as to where it properly ends. The question, however, in either case, is one rather of terms than of any serious consequence. The title of the book may still be considered happily chosen, and is certainly a striking one, though the boundary lines of what it includes are wavering and indeterminate at both ends. We could have wished that he had carried us along a little farther, but must be content where he has left us.

The author has brought to the end of his task the various learning, the careful study, the candid and liberal spirit, which distinguished its beginning. His high reputation will secure for the whole a wide perusal among students and men of letters. It will be prized as a book of reference by many who will not feel tempted to go through with the voluminous details of such a multitude of pages. In this view, its copious Index would have been much increased in value if it could have embraced some of the curious erudition which is scattered through

the Notes. But as this could not be done thoroughly, and would so perplex the choice in making a selection, it was perhaps wisest to leave it wholly unattempted. These illustrative Notes are often very engaging. In their whole number, there occurs but one that provokes any disposition to criticise it. It is where Mary Magdalen is spoken of as a favorite character in the dramatic "Mysteries." "Her earlier life," he says, "was by no means disguised or softened." It is possible that this means no more than her early life as the Church tradition and ancient Art have represented it. But we are sorry that so famed a writer and so eminent an ecclesiastic should have even seemed to give his countenance to an unauthorized imputation. There is not the least Scriptural foundation for the legend that Mary Magdalen was ever of a dissolute life. She has become a proverb for penitent frailty. Her wronged name figures mournfully in beautiful verse, and is built in among the stones of asylum-houses. But the slander rests upon nothing except the gratuitous application of a passage in St. Luke's Gospel, where "a woman which was a sinner" bathed the feet of Jesus with perfumes and tears, and wiped them with her long hair. This woman comes without a name into the sacred story, and passes nameless away. There is not the slightest evidence that she was the Magdalen, or any other Mary.

The pleasantest part of these three volumes is the fourteenth book, which ends the work. It is called the "Survey." In a space of nearly three hundred pages, it takes a backward view of "the whole realm of Latin Christendom, — the political and social state, as far (?) as the relation of Latin Christianity to the great mass of mankind, the popular religion, with its mythology; the mental development in philosophy, letters, arts." It presents a summary of the author's ideas of the whole period, as concerns the clergy and laity; the theology, philosophy, and popular beliefs of its different epochs; its Latin literature in prose and verse; its literature in the new languages of Europe, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English; and, finally, Christian architecture, sculpture, and painting. Here is opened a wide field for the display of copious reading,

which could not fail to be curious and attractive in a very high degree; and the author has occupied it with so much learning and sprightliness, that those must be well versed in mediæval studies who will not derive both amusement and instruction from it. We commend those ten chapters to the attention of readers who are not disposed to cope with the cumbrous historic details of the preceding books.

The following paragraph will give a good idea of the lenient temper and discriminating judgment with which the work is written, and a fair specimen of its manner. The subject, too, is one worth dwelling upon : —

“Purgatory had now its intermediate place between Heaven and Hell, as unquestioned, as undisturbed by doubt; its existence was as much an article of uncontested popular belief as Heaven or Hell. It were as unjust and unphilosophical to attribute all the legendary lore which realized Purgatory, to the sordid invention of the Churchman or the Monk, as it would be unhistorical to deny the use which was made of this superstition to exact tribute from the fears or the fondness of mankind. But the abuse grew out of the belief; the belief was not slowly, subtly, deliberately instilled into the mind for the sake of the abuse. Purgatory, possible with St. Augustine, probable with Gregory the Great, grew up, I am persuaded, (its growth is singularly indistinct and untraceable,) out of the mercy and modesty of the Priesthood. To the eternity of Hell torments there is and ever must be — notwithstanding the peremptory decrees of dogmatic theology and the reverential dread in so many religious minds of tampering with what seems the language of the New Testament — a tacit repugnance. But when the doom of every man rested on the lips of the Priest, on his absolution or refusal of absolution, that Priest might well tremble with some natural awe — awe not confessed to himself — at dismissing the soul to an irrevocable, unrepealable, unchangeable destiny. He would not be averse to pronounce a more mitigated, a reversible sentence. The keys of Heaven and of Hell were a fearful trust, a terrible responsibility; the key of Purgatory might be used with far less presumption, with less trembling confidence. Then came naturally, as it might seem, the strengthening and exaltation of the efficacy of prayer, of the efficacy of the religious ceremonials, of the efficacy of the sacrifice of the altar, and the efficacy of the intercession of the Saints; and these all within the province, within the power, of the Sacerdotal Order. Their authority, their influence, their intervention, closed not with the grave. The departed soul was still to a certain degree dependent upon the

Priest. They had yet a mission, it might be of mercy; they had still some power of saving the soul after it had departed from the body. Their faithful love, their inexhaustible interest, might yet rescue the sinner; for he had not reached those gates over which alone was written, 'There is no Hope,'—the gates of Hell. That which was a mercy, a consolation, became a trade, an inexhaustible source of wealth. Praying souls out of Purgatory by Masses said on their behalf became an ordinary office, an office which deserved, which could demand, which did demand, the most prodigal remuneration. It was later that the Indulgence, originally the remission of so much penance, of so many days, weeks, months, years; or of that which was the commutation for penance, so much almsgiving or munificence to Churches or Churchmen, in sound at least extended (and mankind, the high and low vulgar of mankind, are governed by sound) its significance: it was literally understood, as the remission of so many years, sometimes centuries, of Purgatory."

Now all this is very charitably spoken. Though we must say that the last period not only articulates a little brokenly, but in point of fact falls far short of the truth of the case; for those Indulgences, when they came to the worst, were fairly understood to have a prospective reference, and consequently were a sort of permission to sin. It is also, to a certain extent, justly spoken. Doubtless, in criticising those dark times, more is to be ascribed to superstition, and less to fraudulent intent, than has usually been conceded by the Protestant mind. And yet Ecclesiastical History does not encourage us much to attribute "mercy and modesty," or any motives of shrinking delicacy, to the clergy whom it depicts. They are grand often, and saintly sometimes; but timidity in pronouncing judgment, and reluctance to assuming power, are the very last expressions that we should put into their portraits. It is true, also, that the soul of humanity does, by an instinct and with a spasm, throw off the frightful dogma, that an eternity of torture is the divinely appointed penalty of the evil deeds that are here done in the body. We are almost ready to say, in our horror, that no sane mind ever did believe it, and that no true heart can. But when we see sensible and kind and excellent and carefully dressed gentlemen mount into pulpits, and there in the settest rhetoric and with all complacency insist on the doctrine of everlasting woe as the truth of the Scriptures and the safety of the world,

we cannot build much on the tenderness of those men in hair shirts, almost frenzied with zeal and phantoms, and leading a life at war with nature. We see and admit the difference which Dr. Milman suggests, that the ancient priest seemed himself to inflict the doom which the modern preacher only denounces. But that difference cannot be accounted very considerable, when we reflect that the priest could pretend to no arbitrary rights in the matter; he was only God's official, and could utter or perform only what was enjoined.

The latent verity seems to be, that the notion of Purgatory did not take its absolute origin in Latin Christianity, but was derived from the religious conceptions of a far elder time; — from that heathenism, in short, whence it borrowed and baptized a portion of its creed, and a still larger portion of its ceremonial observances. As a Church dogma, indeed, it is rightly considered to have been gathering in the middle of the third century, and to have been fully adopted at about the confluence of the sixth and seventh. But long antecedent opinion, both in the Gentile and Jewish world, made it all but impossible that it should not in time arise. That suffering is discipline, and that the soul is purified by sorrow and pain, were thoughts familiar of old to Greek morality; and the doctrine of a great cycle, at which all things should be set right, had been devised or inherited by Greek speculation. A belief in the transmigration of souls into a succession of retributive forms, has always prevailed extensively over the Eastern mind. Egypt believed in this doctrine of Metempsychosis, and Plato connected it with the idea of a state of purgation after death. From him the Alexandrinizing teachers of the Gospel introduced it into the community of Christian believers. Jewish opinion led the same way. Hades had no inscription of Despair over its gate. The Hebrew prophet had said to the under-world, "Restore," and, "I will be thy destruction." Hebrew expectation, before the Saviour's advent, had painted in lively figures a deliverance from the penal shades; and the New Testament itself is not without several intimations of such views and prophecies. Was it not inevitable, then, that, after Heaven and Hell had come to establish themselves as essential articles of Christian belief, this third state

should set itself up in the Christian consciousness, and mediate between them? Everything was ready for it, in the traditions of antiquity and the intellectual exigencies of that present age.

In connection with this subject we cannot forbear quoting a note which is found on the 426th page of the same sixth volume: "Scotus Erigena, perhaps alone, dared to question the locality of Hell, and the material tortures of the damned. The punishment in which Erigena believed was terrible remorse of conscience, the sense of impossible repentance or pardon. At the final absorption of all things, that genuine Indian absorption, derived from his master the Pseudo-Dionysius, evil and sin would be destroyed for ever, not evil ones and sinners. Erigena boldly cites Origen, and extorts from other authorities an opinion, to the same effect, of the final salvation, the return unto the Deity, of the Devil himself." This John the Scot, son of Erin,—the two titles do not harmonize very well, and the latter is probably the true one,—was one of the broadest lights of the ninth century. The mention of him reminds us of another John, who had a surname Murray, and who was famous among us as a preacher more than fifty years ago. He frequently repeated the line,

"Let sin be damned, the sinner saved";

a sentiment that corresponds perfectly to that expressed above, and of which the benevolence would be both childish and dangerous, if it were not carried forward, as it was, and applied specifically to the doctrine of "the last things," the final consummation. His interpretation of the dividing of the sheep from the goats, at the last judgment, is perhaps as drolly ingenious as anything to be found in the history of exegesis. The sheep, he said, is uniformly represented in the Scriptures as an emblem of human nature; while the goat and the satyr, as every one knows, are a type of unclean spirits. Now, who will maintain that a sheep can become a goat by going ever so far astray?

One of the most stirring incidents, if not the very chief, in the volumes now under review, is the famous Council of Constance. We gave some description of this Council a little more than a year ago, in a review

of the fifth volume of Neander's Church History ;* and with so much particularity, that the subject would not be recurred to now but for a feeling of serious discontent with the manner in which Dr. Milman has been led to treat it. The German Professor tells simply the story in his honest way ; and yet leaves upon the mind of the reader a burning impatience for the day of freedom, a deep detestation of ecclesiastical oppression and cruelty, which is not awakened by these more polished pages : and we must confess that we set more value upon the flush of a generous feeling than upon the coloring of a tableau. Dr. Neander cannot describe with the picturesque splendor employed by the English Dean the moving pageantry of nobles, bishops, and mitred abbots, up the Rhine and over the blue lake ; the winding down of the rich cavalcades of princes and prelates from the steep slopes of the mountains through the "autumn-tinted chestnut-groves." He would not think of doing it, or care to do it. But by his plain narrative of the facts he fires us with resentment and horror and scorn at the base crimes committed in the name of religion. This effect fails to be keenly wrought, and is even enfeebled and interfered with,—we cannot help saying it,—in these qualifying pages. The wish to be perfectly candid and philosophically impartial, and to make every charitable allowance, is carried, we think, too far. History should, indeed, be dispassionate. It is not its office, perhaps, either severely to moralize or vehemently to declaim. But neither should it turn extenuator or apologist when atrocious deeds are doing ; and it owes it to that moral sensibility which is as important as truth, not to impair the detestation which the recital of villainies should always inspire.

And here may be as fitting a place as any other to say, that we are not quite ready to acquiesce in the mild judgment which Dr. Milman passes, in one of his former volumes, upon the Romish hierarchy and its princes, and upon the general effects of their influence. The third chapter of the seventh book ends with an elaborate paragraph of this kind, in which it is reasoned that even Gregory VII. may be considered as in some respects "a

* Christian Examiner for March, 1855.

benefactor of mankind." This sounds to us too much like an acquittal; although it must be admitted that much may be urged plausibly, and much ought to be pleaded in justice, on this side of the question. The crossier knew how to clash manfully against the sword; and the triple mitre could overtop, for the world's advantage, the steel cap and the golden or iron crown. And yet this priestly supremacy, if it sometimes paralyzed the mailed hand, put the firebrand and the dagger into its clutch much more frequently. If at one period it kept back the barbarian that was invading the earth, it in all periods kept down the reformers also who were seeking to enlighten and deliver the earth. No one can compute how much it intercepted and crushed. No one can tell the social mischiefs as well as miseries that it wrought. We do not see, therefore, how to admit those extenuations of a mighty wrong done to humanity, except on the general ground that all events are providential,—that God sits upon the floods, and compels their treachery and their violence to praise him; or, as the thought is expressed in the famous line of Schiller, "The world's history is the world's judgment";—

"Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht."

That Council of Constance was dominated by the presence of Sigismund and John XXIII.,—Sigismund, the imperial liar, who betrayed to the fiery fagots the holy and noble life of Huss, which was drawn thither under the written assurance of his protection; and John, the papal monster, who, after he had been deposed for the most abominable enormities, was thought good enough by one of his successors to be made a cardinal,—and possibly was, as cardinals then went. Of such an emperor and such a transaction one is not prepared to read an apologetic paragraph like the following.

"Breach of faith admits no excuse: perfidy is twice perfidious in an Emperor. Yet it is but justice to Sigismund fairly to state the inextricable difficulty of his position. He had to choose between the violation of faith to one whom he himself no doubt esteemed a dangerous and turbulent heretic, and, it might be, the dissolution of the Council. With the Council he abandoned all the hopes on which he had rested his fame, his influence, his authority, the restoration of peace to the Church, the reformation

of the Church. Huss was already arraigned as a heretic; the Pope, the Cardinals, the Council, had committed themselves to that arraignment. According to the views of almost the whole hierarchy, and the prelates of every nation, the suppression of heresy was their first imperious duty; it was the deepest and most passionate vow of every high-churchman; and which of them on such a point was not a high-churchman? Arguments were ready, which, on the principles dominant and long admitted in those days, it was not easy to parry or confute. The Emperor had no right to protect heretics, over whom throughout the world, and in every part of it, the hierarchy, especially such a council of the hierarchy, had indefeasible cognizance, could proceed, and were bound to proceed, according to the canons of the Church. And the fatal doctrine, confirmed by long usage, by the decrees of Pontiffs, by the assent of all ecclesiastics, and the acquiescence of the Christian world, that no promise, no oath, was binding to a heretic, had hardly been questioned, never repudiated. . . . Sigismund yielded, perhaps not without self-reproach, certainly not without remonstrance which must have galled a man of his high feeling to the quick."

Sigismund knew as well as we do that he was acting the part of a coward and a perjurer, and an accomplice with bloody men. The heart revolts at any "excuses for" him. A single glance at the anxious and honest features of the Knight of Chlum might have convicted him, without his waiting for that steady look of poor John Huss, at which "a deep blush passed over his face."

We are dissatisfied also with the tone in which the sainted harbingers of the earth's deliverance from the yoke of "Latin Christianity" are several times spoken of. There is too little expression of sympathy with the brave testifiers and victims of that disastrous time, as well as too ready a disposition to pass a mitigated sentence upon their cowed and crowned and "tiated" persecutors. There is something painful, to say the least, in language like this:—

"Huss and his followers, in their infatuated expectations of leniency, or of respect for the freedom of such opinions as theirs, showed their ignorance of mankind, of the hierarchy, as well as of the bounds beyond which it was premature to attempt the emancipation of the religious mind of Europe. . . . John Huss and Jerome of Prague, as among the first distinguished martyrs for Christian liberty, and as condemned by a Council in the

face of Christendom, have obtained perhaps importance, not fully recognized in their own day. It could not be supposed that a great hierarchical Senate from the four most powerful kingdoms, indeed from all Europe, with the Emperor, who took a pride in exalting its authority, at its head, a Council which had deposed Popes, would be bearded and defied by two or three contumacious priests from a remote, obscure, and half-barbarous land. The burning of heretics was now so completely part of the established usage of the Church, as to cause, if compassion, none of that revulsion of feeling which has happily grown into our Christianity. And it is but justice to the 'Fathers of Constance,' as they are called, to admit that they tried all milder means of persuasion. Even the bitterest opponents of Huss, Michael de Causis and Stephen Palecz, earnestly besought him to make disavowal of his errors. The course of the Churchman seemed to him clear and determinate, and unavoidable. In the Emperor his pride and his honor, and even his interest, came into perilous collision with these opponents. Was he to recede before a simple Bohemian ? "

And more in the same strain, which would sound less strangely from Cardinal Wiseman than from one of the most liberal dignitaries of the English Church. We cannot admit such large concessions as are here made to times and circumstances. We cannot admire such nice balancings and smoothings, when the highest principles and instincts of humanity are involved. We cannot think much of the "milder means" that ended in the rusty chain, and the dying prayer received with shouts of derision, and the blazing pile. We should frankly prefer some earnest utterance of admiration, pity, hate, to an historic apathy, or to the neutralizing charity which finds

"Black 's not so black, nor white so very white."

We are well aware that all the words we have quoted are not to be construed with literal exactness; that some of them are spoken rhetorically, as representing the feeling of the opposite party, and not the mind of the writer himself. We make allowance for this. But the rhetoric is not distinct enough in its intention, nor at all fortunate in its effect; and it is connected with what is not rhetoric, but quite the reverse, a subtle argument.

The train of remarks now brought up suggests an important question, — how far what are called "sins of

the age" may be rightfully adjudged to exculpate great criminals; how far a perverted public sentiment or a "custom of fell deeds" diminishes guilt, and by consequence should mitigate sentence. The question is a wide one, — too wide to be discussed here. Doubtless, much is to be conceded of this kind in many instances. It will not do to be abstractionists and ideologues. We have read and looked but with eyes half open, if we have not perceived how wise men are blinded to errors which they have always found prevalent, and good men are swept on with the current of a fashionable wrong. We receive moulding influences from the religious ideas around us, and from the various institutions under which we are brought up. But this truth is often greatly exaggerated, and spread into conclusions that have no truth in them. The saying that a man's faults were those of his age, but his virtues were his own, is repeated with the fluency of a proverb. But virtues and vices are not so easily separated by an antithesis. They both have their roots much deeper down. It may be a fact that the age makes the men, but it is a more undeniable one that the men make the age. Who fix the character of any times but the people, and especially the leading people, who live in them? And so far as any one is formed and guided by their influence, is it easy to see why they have not just as much efficacy in determining the good as the bad qualities of his disposition, the good as the bad directions of his life? And then, when has there been a period so depraved that the light of the truth has been wholly quenched, and the voice of nature stifled, and the soul has lost the power to distinguish between good and evil? There may be greater temptations to particular forms of wickedness in one generation than in another; but shall we say that the wickedness is not then to be imputed? The wits and courtiers who sparkled about Charles the Second are none the less convicted of profligacy, because it was the fashion to be corrupt. The ribald writers who have sent out their works like filth and poison, are not to be excused by saying that they among whom they wrote were not ashamed to admire them. And the bitter fanatic, though he might have lived in an era of hard manners and dismal superstitions, is called by his right name — a bitter fanatic —

still. He who could beguile and betray was a hypocrite, though he might have lived back as far as the Flood. And he who could deliberately bring a brother man to torture and a scorching death for opinions dissentient from his own, was blood-guilty, whether he wore the robes of a chancellor or a Genevan cloak. The practices of savage days and the delusions of dark ones may mislead some persons who intend well. But will they make them domineering and hard-hearted? or will they much abate the sin of being made so if they do?

Dr. Milman speaks of "the burning of heretics as completely part of the established usage of the Church"; and it is but too true that the world was falling fast into the red-hot iron arms of the Moloch of sacerdotal dominion. But at the same time the children of a Teutonic and Norman race may feel proud to remember, that, down almost to the very year of this Council of Constance, not an inch of English soil had been blasted with a single brand of those fiendish fires. Still more, there sat in that very assembly an English prelate, Robert Hallam of Salisbury, who utterly denied that death was a suitable penalty for theological dissent. Nor was he wholly solitary in that forbearing opinion, then and there; and this would seem to require some qualification of the assertion, that "in the execution of Huss and Jerome of Prague there had been awful unanimity." And doubtless there were everywhere the far-seeing and great-hearted, — humble folks, it may be, — who saw such things as they were, and felt them as they deserved to be felt. Who would venture to contradict the assertion, if it were made, that every truly noble spirit which looked upon those brutal deeds on the shore of that sweet lake, or which throbbed at the recital of them, not only in Eastern Bohemia, but to the far coasts of the Hebridean Isles, must have secretly devoted the perpetrators to the "infernal gods"? The Slavic and the Saxon mind both stood opposed to that kind of inhumanity. England sent martyrs to Rome, but sacrificed them nowhere. It was her own countrymen who demanded that the Heroic Maid should be burned as a sorceress and a heretic; and a Bishop of Beauvais and the University of Paris carried out the infamy. And it was a French preacher afterwards — though, by a strange

construction, he has been lately extolled as a great champion of liberty — who burned Michael Servetus for denying the deity of Christ. It was Italian bigotry that burned Giordano Bruno as an atheist, when he picked a straw from the pile that was to consume him, and declared that the dry stalk would confute him if he were one. It was Spain, who gave her language for the name, and her soil for the show-place, of that blackest pageant of Inquisitorial cruelty, the *auto da fé*. When Romanism in England, like the Apocalyptic Satan, felt her time to be short, then indeed she kindled her fires in London, and demonized her Protestant opposers to follow her example.

We are not forgetting what we have already admitted, that in the beginning of that fifteenth century England herself was polluted with the like guilt. Then was passed that famous but somewhat mysterious statute, "*De Hæretico Comburendo*," which wrought for a while its fatal work. Its ugly title stands in Latin, which was an unusual thing in the laws of that time. Mr. Hallam asserts that there is "a presumption that it had no regular assent of Parliament." The Commons were remarkably hostile to the Church at that very period. One thing, at least, is true, as Dr. Milman declares, — and it is a memorable truth, — that "in England alone a statute was necessary to legalize the burning of heretics. In all other parts of Christendom, the magistrate had obeyed the summons of the clergy." The magistrate refused to do it there. The English government then enacted that strange anomaly. It was not inspired so much by religious bigotry as by political apprehension. It was directed against the Lollards as revolutionists more than as misbelievers. Walter Lollard, after whom they were named, — or misnamed, — had suffered at Cologne, the greater part of a century before; and these martyred men were the first to suffer in the island that is now called Great Britain. The statute that sentenced them was Roman and foreign. No wonder that it did not endure long, and that perplexity and darkness have gathered around its memory. Alas for Latin Christianity! St. Jerome could say, "It is not impiety to be cruel for God." St. Augustine, from the text, "Blessed are ye who suffer persecution

for righteousness' sake," could maintain that they were equally blessed who inflicted persecution for the same sake. These were among its foremost standard-bearers. Theodoric the Goth was twelve hundred years ahead of such a spirit, when he wrote his "golden words" to the Emperor Justin, against pretending to any dominion over the consciences of men, or punishing religious opinion by the secular arm.

Dr. Milman ends this longest and most elaborate of his many valuable services to Christian letters with a paragraph which carries us far out of the lines of Latin Christianity, and indicates the wide reach of his thought, at least, if it does not define any precise position.

"How far Teutonic Christianity may in some parts already have gone almost or absolutely beyond the pale of Christianity, how far it may have lost itself in its unrebuked wanderings, posterity only will know. What distinctness of conception, what precision of language, may be indispensable to true faith; what part of the ancient dogmatic system may be allowed silently to fall into disuse, as at least superfluous, and as beyond the proper range of human thought and human language; how far the sacred records may, without real peril to their truth, be subjected to closer investigation; to what wider interpretation, especially of the Semitic portion, those records may submit—and wisely submit—in order to harmonize them with the irrefutable conclusions of science; how far the Eastern veil of allegory which hangs over their truth may be lifted or torn away to show their unshadowed essence; how far the poetic vehicle through which truth is conveyed may be gently severed from the truth,—all this must be left to the future historian of our religion. As it is my own confident belief that the words of Christ, and his words alone, (the primal, indefeasible truths of Christianity,) shall not pass away; so I cannot presume to say that men may not attain to a clearer, at the same time more full and comprehensive and balanced, sense of those records than has as yet been generally received in the Christian world. As all else is transient and mutable, these only eternal and universal, assuredly whatever light may be thrown on the mental constitution of nature, and the laws which govern the world, will be concentrated so as to give a more penetrating vision of those undying truths. Teutonic Christianity, (and this seems to be its mission and privilege,) however nearly in its more perfect form it may have approximated, may approximate still more closely to the absolute and perfect faith of Christ; it may discover and establish the sublime

unison of religion and reason ; keep in tone the triple-chorded harmony of faith, holiness, and charity ; assert its own full freedom, know the bounds of that freedom, respect the freedom of others. Christianity may yet have to exercise a far wider, even if more silent and untraceable influence, through its primary, all-penetrating, all-pervading principles, on the civilization of mankind."

These sentences are not, perhaps, in every respect, perfectly clear. We are not sure, for instance, that the learned author means to draw a distinction between the words of the Saviour recorded by the Evangelists, and those of St. Paul in his Epistles, as to their permanence and authority ; though his language seems to affirm that. Neither have we the least suspicion that he means to rationalize on the narratives of events related by those Evangelists, when he speaks of "the constitution of nature, and the laws which govern the world" ; though some might be ready to infer that. But there are two points on which we are glad to see that so influential a scholar and divine has planted himself. One is, that the course of inquiry into the Holy Scriptures and the religion contained in them must now go on in its fullest freedom, whatever its perils may be. The Church dictation is deposed. The State supremacy has nothing to command, so far as mere belief is concerned. Not only must there be freedom of conscience, but the religious intelligence must be allowed to scrutinize every written record without stint or fear ; only let it preserve its companionship with a religious heart, for there is a spiritual discernment that must be brought to bear upon the things of the Spirit. The second point is, that there is good reason to hope for progress in religious thought ; and that there will grow up and go forward worthier apprehensions of the Bible, and a deeper understanding of the faith that rests upon the Bible. We adhere to that cheering persuasion. With so many restraints taken off, so many tyrannical pretensions brought down, so many superstitious abuses put out of the way, it would be strange if there were no improvement to be made in criticism and creed and spiritual life. It would be strange if positive sciences and physical comforts and material interests were the only things destined to advance. It would be strange if the struggles, sacrifices,

and bitter griefs that have been tearing the world's heart for so many ages, should all tell for nothing upon the divinest knowledge and the highest aspirations of man. Mr. Macaulay, in his review of Ranke's History of the Popes, has played the advocate on the dark side of this question; and he has done it in his dazzling way. He cannot see, any more than Mr. Carlyle, much encouragement in the direction of doctrinal or moral proficiency. He thinks that, so far as religious ideas are concerned, old errors will be returning, or give place only to new ones; and so far as a traditional and book faith are concerned, they must be limited by the terms of the record; and therefore no permanent triumphs are to be secured for truth or practice. But we cannot yield to such misgivings. We cannot so read the intentions of Providence. We cannot so cast the horoscope of human affairs. The course of history is indeed mournful enough; but its lessons are of admonition, not of despair. They will never come back, those days of pontifical and feudal abominations, the violence of ecclesiastical and secular princes, the ignorance and vassalage of the people. They can never be stayed, those courses of instruction that are now setting onward. The discoveries that are making on single lines of inquiry will furnish unexpected contributions to the general wealth and power of the mind. Liberty is of a vital nature that cannot help being productive. We will not doubt of its bearing better fruits than have yet been known, under the increasing light of truth and warmth of humanity.

The Dean of St. Paul's, with his fine culture, his liberal sympathies, his genuine Catholicism, is himself a good omen of those brighter times towards which he looks, but which he does not venture to predict with confidence. He can only say, It may be. From his former cloisters of Westminster he looked beyond the enclosures of any establishment or sect. While he is a good Churchman, he is much more than that. Loyal to authority, attached to the past, he is not one of those who think—to use one of his own conversational expressions—that the old ruts must certainly be the old road. He does not believe that even an ascertained antiquity is the test of truth, or that there may not be a Church of the Future wiser than any yet. The realm of

England has always been refractory to the temporal demands of Latin Christianity; and her preachers have lately come forward into fame with a critical ability and a venturous freedom altogether uncommon. The names of Stanley and Jowett, Kingsley and Maurice, will suggest others. The hopes now glanced at may be long deferred or utterly frustrated. Who can assure us that they will not be? But one thing, at least, is certain, that we must accept the terms on which alone progress is possible. The ancient emblem of the Church, borrowed from the occupation of the fishermen of Galilee, taking shape so often in sculpture and painting, and giving name to the Cathedral Nave, is a significant emblem of it still. The Church Universal resembles a boat more than a building. It is afloat upon the tides of the centuries. It can be moored to no Italian or Syrian coasts. It must move as it pleases God.

"The bark drives on and on, and anchored ne'er shall be."

N. L. F.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Sermons for the Times. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley, Author of "Village Sermons," "Phaethon," &c. New York: Dana & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 360.

WE should suppose that it must be infinitely refreshing to those who are accustomed to doze under the droning of rectors, vicars, curates, — not to speak of lord bishops, — to hear such fresh, direct, pointed, and practical discourses as these by the author of "Alton Locke" and "Amyas Leigh." They are not ambitious rhetorical efforts, nor are they attempts at careful doctrinal statement; but they are by no means dull or lacking in the charms of style, and their practical lessons are drawn out from the great facts and truths of the Gospel as Mr. Kingsley understands them. There is one feature in these sermons which distinguishes them from some of the most popular modern discourses by so-called orthodox men. The dogmatic element is not kept out of sight, covered over, and made to give place to gleanings from *belles-lettres*; on the contrary, it is sedulously put forward, and we are taught that we can have the practical only upon condition of our accepting the doctrinal;

that, in short, the doctrinal is intensely practical, — of the heart and of the life. The doctrine and the improvement are not separated by a deep, broad line in these discourses. We have found them very suggestive and full of wisdom, though we think that Mr. Kingsley is sometimes mistaken in his opinion of the source whence he has derived his wisdom.

Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854. Under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, U. S. N., by Order of the Government of the United States. Compiled from the Original Notes and Journals of Commodore Perry and his Officers, at his Request and under his Supervision, by FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D., LL. D. With numerous Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. Royal 8vo. pp. 624.

THE patronage of Congress will give a wide circulation to this highly interesting and valuable volume. To Commodore Perry belongs the praise of having, with much sagacity and prudence, conducted and brought to a propitious result an expedition which was attended by many embarrassments. It was predicted by some that the expedition would be unsuccessful, and it was affirmed by others that its objects, if realized, would not be rewarding. The ill omens have been falsified, and we believe that the results to be expected with confidence will be exceedingly important in a commercial point of view.

Dr. Hawks's services, which appear to have been most judiciously and ably performed, were engaged by the Commodore for the sake of giving unity of character to the narrative. As, besides the official documents, rich materials were provided in the journals and reports of various officers, it was desirable that they should be carefully elaborated into a continuous and consistent whole, without needless repetition. The consequence is, that we have the skilful relation of one mind founded on the information presented by many observers. Much of the narrative, however, as we read it, is from the pen of the Commodore himself, and the whole has been submitted to his careful revision.

The introductory sketch of the history, government, social life, jealousy, and exclusiveness of the empire of Japan, embraces all the authentic information upon those topics which was within our reach. The rigid policy which for two centuries has repelled all foreign intercourse, with the bare exception of allowing a Dutch trading-post under a careful espionage, stands justified by the poor experience which the empire had had in its

dealings with Christians of the worst sort. It is evident, we think, even from the cautious and moderate way in which the introduction deals with a very delicate matter of diplomacy, that, while the Russians made use of the fruit of our expedition to take the ground, or rather the water, for the sake of their own rival interests, the Dutch ventured close to the borders of intrigue for the purpose of making our expedition fruitless. The American Commodore proved himself a most able diplomat, as well as a most accomplished naval officer. He avoided collision with foreign intriguers, and probably secured success, or averted failure, by rejecting the proffered partnership of Dr. Von Siebold.

We never have greater cause to regret the limited compass of our journal than when we take in hand a volume like this before us, filled with *authentic* information upon human beings and human life under aspects unwonted to us, and are compelled to deprive ourselves of the pleasure of transferring whole pages of it to our own sheets. There is very much that is entertaining and suggestive, as well as exceedingly valuable, in this volume. The exaggerations of travellers' tales, and the doubtful speculations of theorists, are all avoided here. Men of good, strong common sense and keen powers of observation, making the most of their opportunities in a new field, relate to us the experiences which days and months developed for them. Bating only the intervention of interpreters, whose aid, however essential, is always a provoking reminder to us that we never get at the exact meaning and views of outlandish people, we can read these pages with an unqualified confidence in their revelations to us of a very strange race of mortals. The abounding illustrations of the volume enrich it with numerous maps, views of scenery, objects of curious interest, and forms of life. For the coming autumn, reading this book will prove a precious resource in many households.

The History of Massachusetts. The Provincial Period. By JOHN STETSON BARRY. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 514.

HAVING devoted his first volume to the History of Massachusetts under its Colonial administration, when "its governors were of itself," Mr. Barry finds a convenient title for the second division of his work in the circumstance which turned the Colony into a Province, whose rulers were sent here from abroad. This volume opens with a sort of summary review and sketch of the elements of life and character that had been developed here by somewhat more than a half-century of the old Puritan government and discipline. The Witchcraft Delusion properly

fills a chapter by itself, and the author has so judiciously rehearsed the facts of a world-wide superstition, as to encourage the hope that henceforward our neighbor city of Salem will not be burdened with the shame of giving to the delusion a specific and localizing epithet. The administrations of the various crown Governors, from Sir William Phips to Thomas Hutchinson, — the first and the last real magistrates of foreign appointment being both of them natives of this soil, — are faithfully detailed. The events of local interest are related under the year of their occurrence, with such comments as their relative importance deserves. The episode of the French War comes in to remind us that a collision with a foreign power, which ought to have been the means of cementing and harmonizing our relations with the mother country, was in fact the school of our training for the war of revolution. The preliminary outrages and oppressions which prepared the way for the great conflict are detailed with a fidelity which justifies our confidence in the historian. Mr. Barry appears to have availed himself of the now abundant means for faithfully relating the events of the period on which he has employed his pen. His judgments are careful and moderate, never extreme. He betrays no partisan feelings. He does not aim at brilliancy or point in his style, nor seek to ornament or illustrate his pages by parallelisms of incident or character. If on these accounts he may not win a share of the encomiums bestowed on more ambitious writers, his work will be all the better suited for such a circulation as we hope it may largely find through the cities and villages of our State. People are very apt to mistake the staleness which their ears attach to frequent references to incidents in our history, for accurate information and familiar knowledge on such points. They are greatly deceived. The majority of our men and women are in almost absolute ignorance about many matters of which they say they are tired of hearing. The fatigue is that of ignorance; relief from it will be found in intelligent reading and study.

English Traits. By R. W. EMERSON. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 312.

THIS new work of Mr. Emerson does no discredit to his great reputation. From the circumstance of its being more local and less abstract than most of his former writings, it will probably enlarge the circle of his readers, and of course of his admirers. They will not admire in the same degree, or for the same reasons. Not in the same degree, because his thought is so subtle; and not for the same reasons, because his range is so wide.

But no one who reads him at all can fail to be struck with the wealth of his suggestions, and the fascination of a style that is peculiarly his own. These "Traits" are drawn in his masterly way, with a bold but careful and delicate hand. We relish those quaint forms of expression, which are equally likely to be homely or grand, and equally charming in both kinds. We enjoy the nimble fancy that loves to yoke together the most opposite creatures, and make them pull well; that never plays pretty tricks in the air, but fastens itself to substantial truths; and sometimes — if we may say so — makes its ingenious image pass for a solid reality. We are captivated with the gravity, that never loses the dignity of a teacher, and yet sparkles with the refractions of a sterling wit. We appreciate the display of the finest culture and most exquisite art, united to a naïve simplicity that seems the most unstudied of all things. We cannot be weary of his sober waggeries, his closely packed amplifications, his aphorisms of smiling penetration, while his original talent and his stores of information seem striving which shall be foremost.

The anecdotes of his first introduction to Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Wordsworth are among the most amusing in the book. Coleridge, dogmatizing and pretentious, after his manner, partly unintelligible and partly delusive, endeavored to impress his visitor by intoning sentences from his own printed volumes, as if they were freshly inspired oracles. The solemn complacency of Wordsworth threw itself into attitude, and declaimed three entirely new sonnets before the happy guest; who declares that he kept his countenance, and who even reproves himself for having been tempted to laugh. The comedy must have been excellent, nevertheless.

From some of Mr. Emerson's literary and personal judgments there will be a very extensive dissent. Few will agree with him that Pope's poetry is "fit to put round frosted cake"; or that the author of the *Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion* wrote "without stint a rhymed Traveller's Guide to Scotland." Most readers of the best English will think Southey as "proper a fellow of his hands" as Savage Landor. We have even known persons of judgment and poetic feeling who would not give the pure, sweet poem of *Thalaba* for nine tenths of the streams from Rydal Mount, in which the golden sands bear small proportion to the flood. Many will not be able to see any especial glory in that passage of Hafiz, "Let us be crowned with roses, let us drink wine, and break up the tiresome old roof of heaven into new forms"; and will prefer its parallel in the "Wisdom of Solomon" (ii. 7, 8), as having more than its beauty, without any of its rhodomontade. A greater number still will account Napoleon III. something more than "a successful thief," and different from that.

Memorials of his Time. By HENRY COCKBURN. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 442.

THE biographer of his friend Lord Jeffry now appears in an Autobiography published after his decease. We have now but one more memoir for which to look to complete the companion volumes which will go down as portraitures and memorials of that circle of friends who gave to Edinburgh a high renown. Lord Brougham, *facile princeps*, alone survives. Mackintosh, Sydney Smith, Horner, Jeffry, Cockburn, have paid their debt to nature and to each other. How much have they contributed to the intellectual life of the last half-century ! Lord Cockburn's book on himself we like in its way far better than we did that on Jeffry. It is not about himself either in any egoistic way. It is rich and racy and wise, and often very thoughtful. Its sketches of a perished generation at a time of noteworthy manners are vivacious and amusing. There is no pleasanter book for easy and alluring reading now on our table than this. We grieve that we have it not to read all afresh, for we shall read it again.

The World's Jubilee. By ANNA SILLIMAN. New York : M. W. Dodd. 1856. 12mo. pp. 343.

THIS is a curious and ingenious, and yet, we are sorry to add, since the intention of the writer is so good, a preposterous book. It is a remarkable specimen of the subtleties possible to *literal* interpretation of the Scriptures, and of the manifold absurdities into which such interpretation is sure to run. The author is deeply in earnest, and evidently believes every word that she says. She is so much in earnest, that she cannot see how self-destructive and self-contradictory are her arguments. Her purpose is to prove that the earth will not be annihilated, but, on the contrary, will last for ever ; that at the final judgment it will be renovated and fitted up for the habitation, not only of the dead who are raised, but of a living race, who will continue and multiply upon it for everlasting ages, no longer exposed to death. This idea is not a new one ; but in no modern book that we have seen has it been so fully explained and so variously justified by argument. Everything that can be said in its defence is said. The obvious objections are boldly met, and, in the opinion of the author, wholly refuted. And the closing chapter triumphantly assumes that the view is proved beyond mistake, and that the eternity of the earth is as sure an article of faith as any revealed dogma. The scientific and physical difficulties are all got over as easily as those of the Scripture.

We can give here but a few instances of Mrs. (or Miss?) Siliman's style of reasoning. She makes, like Father Miller, large use of arithmetic, and, like Dr. Cumming, is great in explaining prophecy. In answer to the objection that the earth after a while could not contain the numbers that would be born upon it, she proves by an elaborate calculation that a belt of land around the equator only 65½ miles broad would give a square rod of space to 210 generations, containing each 800,000,000 of persons, which she estimates to be the number of inhabitants in the world thus far, or at least all that will be likely to be raised in the resurrection. All the rest of the earth is of course left for future immortals, affording ample accommodation. The pressure will be delayed for many thousands of years, and when it comes, will be relieved by occasional flights to other worlds; — for men then will have the privilege of angels, and can go visiting from star to star. But more relief is afforded in the promise of John that the new earth shall contain "no more sea." This alone opens up two thirds now wasted. And moreover there is to be "*no more curse*." This, she reckons, will increase immensely the fertility of the soil, so that a rod shall yield as much as an acre does now. She suggests, too, that the earth may go on expanding, blowing itself larger, to suit the increased demand, without enlarging its actual mass and so "destroying the equilibrium of the solar system." We are afraid that Professor Siliman would not consent to the geology of his gifted namesake.

But another fortunate provision is furnished in the connection of the "new heavens" with the "new earth." This gives an excellent safety-valve. "We need not fear," says our author, "as no bounds are given to these new heavens, that they will not be capacious enough to accommodate the glorified portion of the human family, even if it should continue to increase throughout the everlasting ages."

Two Scriptural statements instantly occur to the objector. One is, that "in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage." How then is the race to continue? The other is, that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." Our author has an answer ready to both. The statement about *marriage*, she says, applies only to those who have died, not at all to those who shall be living at the time of the Judgment. And the statement about *flesh and blood* applies only to those to whom dominion is given, only "to the saints." The saints, certainly, will be glorified and have celestial bodies. But it does not follow that the common men will have these bodies. It is far more rational to think that this will be the difference between the saints and the average righteous, that the one will be able to meet their Lord in the air, while the other can meet him only on the earth.

The capital of the new earth is of course to be Zion, Jerusalem, and our author attempts to show that there will be no injury done to it by the descent of God's glory. We may quote her eloquent and convincing words: "The descent of this glory, though it will greatly change the circumstances of the inhabitants of this city, will not of necessity endanger their safety or destroy the city itself. Men remodel and rebuild cities without injury to those who dwell in them, and the rebuilding of a city is not regarded as its destruction. It was the boast of the Emperor Augustus, that he found Rome built of brick and left it built of marble. Constantine changed the small city of Byzantium into the metropolis of the Roman Empire, and by so doing we suppose its former inhabitants were enriched and honored rather than destroyed. And why may not the Lord, the future King of the whole earth, select any portion of its surface he pleases, and embellish it for his metropolis, without loss or injury to his faithful subjects?"

A serious difficulty which our author does not meet very fully is in the remark of God, that "from one Sabbath to another shall all flesh come to worship before me." She devoutly believes that everybody will go there to *see God*. Yet she candidly admits that "in the present state of things there would be an impossibility in all flesh going to Jerusalem every Sabbath." It means, she thinks, that there will be some from all nations there every Sabbath, and that all will be there at some time in their lives; and that, as these lives are *eternal*, no one need to be in a hurry: there will be chances enough to get there.

We are pleased to notice in our author's view a slight and somewhat original variation from the common Trinitarian notion. She believes that Christ, while on earth before, was as truly God as she believes in the reality and devilish talent of his great rival, Satan. But in the new earth, after he has fastened the Devil in eternal torments, Christ gracefully resigns his equality with God,—the Son consents to be subject to the Father. He will act henceforth as satrap for the province of earth, and dwell at Jerusalem. God will keep all his kingdoms, but Christ will be content with one.

Chapter seventh, in which the dealing of God with the Patriarchs Abraham and Isaac and Jacob is discussed, is one of the most extraordinary in the volume, both in the stringency of its logic, and the familiarity which it shows with the Divine mind. The argument is,—God promised to these men and their descendants a new Canaan, a *heavenly country*. Now *they never had it* while they lived. They have never yet had it. "Integrity on the part of God requires the fulfilment of all his promises." Therefore, *hereafter* the heavenly country will be Canaan. God was *particular* in the Levitical Law, and still

more so would he be in the great promises. The ancient covenants, Abraham's reward, and Jacob's dream will be fulfilled in the renovated earth.

The most remarkable chapter in the volume is that which describes the Judgment. Here our prophetess, if less brilliantly rhetorical than many Orthodox writers, is minute and methodical in the extreme. Following the literal record, she favors us with a list of the companies as they come up and file off, as thorough as the official bulletin of an English military review. First, we have the *trumpets*. Second come "the elect," gathered by the angels. Then we have the "dead in Christ," as the Fusileers come after the Coldstream Guards. Then, after the various ranks of this body have passed, come on the "living saints," who are taken very "unexpectedly." Then come "the nations," Christian nations, and heathen nations, the rank and file and the militia of Christ's kingdom. We will not wrong our author by mutilating her account of the Judgment itself, the binding of Satan, the destruction of Gog and Magog, which bears the same relation to the picture of the old Calvinist preachers on that theme, that the dramas of the Olympic do to the dramas of Old Drury.

Our author, of course, does not concern herself with the results of modern criticism. To her pious mind, every word of King James's version is the perfect word of God. This false notion is at once the strength and the weakness of her book.

La Réforme et les Guerres de Religion en Dauphiné. De 1560 à l'Edit de Nantes (1598). Par J. D. LONG. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères. 8vo. pp. 319.

A good history of the wars of the Reformation in France remains yet to be written. To do the work well, one must occupy a middle place between the partisans of the Calvinist and Catholic bodies, without that infidel indifference which vitiates the so-called impartial histories of Christian movements. Catholic writers have done little better than copy the subtle falsehoods of Bossuet, while the turgid invectives and brilliant pictures of D'Aubigné are to Protestants the basis of fact and reasoning. The book before us is an attempt to keep the just mean between these extremes in regard to one province of the French realm, where the strife raged most fiercely and some of the best and worst deeds of the war were done. It is a moderate and impartial treatise, states facts as they are, deals justly with the motives of the parties, the characters of the leaders, and the exploits

of the heroes, avoids insinuations, and indulges in none of those digressions which may so readily mislead a reader. Some original manuscripts in the hands of M. Long have enabled him to add to previous narratives, and to correct numerous mistakes of the rhetorical Genevan writer. It is a signal merit that he keeps so close to his subject, confines himself to the time and place of his survey, and stops when he has finished. M. Long is a concise, candid, and sensible writer, reliable in his statements, and free from prejudice. It is impossible to tell whether he is a Protestant or Catholic, yet it is evident that he is an earnest Christian believer.

His style is unfortunately dry and hard, without ornament and without music, so that, except with those interested in the theme, his work will be likely to find few readers. It is not attractive enough to invite or to reward a translator. The only really *beautiful* thing in the volume is the canticle on the "Life and Death of Monthun," the Huguenot leader, quoted in the Appendix, which proves that the lyric poetry of France has not in the last three centuries improved more than the dramatic poetry of England. Beranger has written nothing finer of its kind than these seventy stanzas.

M. Long confirms in the fullest manner the story of the letters of Calvin to Poet, first published by the Abbé D'Artigny a century ago, and repeated by Voltaire. He publishes them in full, from a copy made from the originals. In the second of these letters we find the atrocious sentiment concerning those who set themselves against the Reformer's faith, that "such monsters ought to be choked, as *I did here* in the execution of Michael Servetus, the Spaniard. In future, let no one set himself to do like this man."

M. Long is a genuine patriot. He writes to rescue his province from the imputations of such writers as Sismondi, and the neglect of those who have isolated it from the route of history, as it is by nature isolated from the thoroughfares of travel. He aims to show that Bayard is not the only chivalrous knight whom the valleys of Dauphiné can boast of sending forth, that Montaigne is not the only wise man who has meditated in the shadow of those hills. He would restore this region, as romantic in tradition as in scenery, to its rightful place in history; would join to the ramparts of Grenoble legends as fine as those that stay on the ramparts of Orleans, and show tragedies on the banks of the Isère not less touching and thrilling than tragedies on the banks of the Seine. He would paint in the character of Des Adrets a villany as dark as that which planned the St. Bartholomew slaughter, and in the character of Lesdiguières a virtue as bright as that which gave Henry of Navarre his popular fame. He

associates the name of Baudouin, as two centuries later American history associates it, with brave resistance to tyranny, and he rejoices that Dauphiné could send forth in Castalio, not only a scholar accomplished as Erasmus, but a friend of truth who dared to contend with the fanaticism of Calvin. He makes us know that the region which could send its children to the University of Valence and produce a Protestant scholar like Casaubon, had not all its learning shut up in the inaccessible vale of the Grande Chartreuse,—that the beauty of the pastoral life was exemplified among them earlier than the day of Felix Neff. His book has added the names of many attractive places to those which appear in the guide-books. We shall not pass again through the Rhone valley without turning aside to visit “Die” and Gap and Embrun, and to look upon the snow-crowned peak of Mont Pelvoux.

Knowledge is Power: a View of the Productive Forces of Modern Society, and the Results of Labor, Capital, and Skill. By CHARLES KNIGHT. Revised and edited, with Additions, by DAVID A. WELLS, A. M., Editor of “Annual of Scientific Discovery,” “Year-Book of Agriculture,” &c., &c. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1856. 12mo. pp. 503.

Introduction to Social Science. A Discourse in Three Parts, by GEORGE H. CALVERT, Author of “Scenes and Thoughts in Europe,” &c. New York: Redfield. 1856. 12mo. pp. 148.

THESE books should be read together. They are a striking illustration of the fact, that all things have two sides and two handles. Mr. Knight celebrates the blessings and triumphs of civilization; Mr. Calvert unfolds its dark and fearful problem. Mr. Knight is not, indeed, blind to the evils and perils of modern society, and yet, on the whole, as we read his pages we find ourselves rejoicing and hoping; Mr. Calvert has strong faith in the Divine Providence, and yet, on the whole, his book is not so cheering as we could desire, because the remedy which he proposes for the world’s grief and burden seems to us inadequate. Both books are valuable, both admirable in their general tone, but with neither of them are we quite satisfied. Mr. Knight’s treatise would be very instructive to the young, especially to the young merchant, mechanic, or farmer,—a genuine New England book; and yet, we must add, a little too New England,—not quite enough guarded on the side of an idol-

atry of thrift, which takes the place here and now of "bowing the knee to Baal." We fear that the "seven thousand" who are not implicated more or less directly in this sin would be hard to gather. But when we turn to Mr. Calvert's treatise, to study the other side of life, we find a vast deal truly (we wish we could add, simply) said, and a manifestation of a very earnest religious spirit. Nevertheless, the radical error of Fourierism — we mean its refusal to acknowledge the deep-seated and wilful perversity of man — vitiates the discussion for us, and makes the book rather eminently suggestive than fully satisfactory. We earnestly hope, however, that the one and the other will be widely circulated and read.

Post-Biblical History of the Jews. From the Close of the Old Testament, about the Year 420 B. C. E., till the Destruction of the Second Temple in the Year 70 C. E. By MORRIS J. RAPHALL, M.A., P.D., Rabbi Preacher at the Synagogue, Greene Street, New York. In two volumes. Philadelphia : Moss and Brother. 12mo. pp. 891.

If this be not the first fruit, it is certainly the best fruit, of Israelite scholarship in America. Hitherto we have had no respectable work in English, in which a Jew has given the story of his own people. Infidel and Christian histories have been allowed to stand unchallenged and uncontradicted. It is a proof, however, of the excellence of the standard Christian histories, that a zealous and acute writer like Dr. Raphall should find so little in their statements to dispute or set aside. The volumes before us are not so remarkable for novelty of views, or sharpness of controversial criticism, as for clear, spirited, and interesting narrative, and for fine grouping of events and characters. They are evidently the result of thorough and extensive study in the original sources, both sacred and classic. Those who imagine that a readable history of the Jews must of necessity be an abridgment or a paraphrase of Josephus, will find in Dr. Raphall's work this fancy quite corrected. It is to Josephus what the volumes of Grote are to Herodotus, and the volumes of Merivale to Livy, — ingeniously summoning collateral testimonies to the revision and judgment of the central authority.

Where Dr. Raphall has occasion to vary from common historic opinions, he speaks cautiously, and fortifies his position by numerous proofs. The discussion in the third chapter of the Septuagint, and the stories of Berosus and Manetho about the Israelites in Egypt, whatever may be thought of its conclusions,

is an able piece of special pleading. So the account, in chapter seventh, of the Samaritan controversy, shows that the Jewish victory was gained on satisfactory grounds. In regard to this great suit between Gerizim and Jerusalem, Dr. Raphall justly emphasizes the remark, that in it "the litigants, as well as the Judge, *fully recognized the authenticity and truthfulness* of the five books of Moses."

The History, as thus far published, is divided into "four books"; the first covering the period of Persian and Grecian dominion in Palestine, about 370 years; the second including the short but brilliant rule of the Maccabees; the third containing the story of the Asmoneans; and the fourth, the story of Roman supremacy and conquest in Syria. All these periods are described with impartial fulness; but the enthusiasm of the writer is most marked in his account of the second period, and especially of the great leader, Judah Maccabeus. This Jewish champion is Dr. Raphall's hero. He applies to Judah the title which France gave to Bayard, and claims for him such honor as America pays to Washington. He draws a parallel between Judah and Leonidas, to the advantage of the Hebrew, and attributes to him the ability of David with the spirit of Josiah. Judah, he says, proved what the recreant Roman could only sing, "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*"

Dr. Raphall's verdicts concerning the characters of conspicuous men are always candid in tone, and in nearly every instance are such as Gentile historians have agreed to. We might, perhaps, ask some abatement to the severity of the sentence upon Titus, and might welcome a stronger condemnation of the tyrant Herod. But we have no reason to complain that Jewish prejudice has exaggerated anything of evil, or set down aught in malice. The spirit of the book is admirable, and favorably contrasts with the too common spirit of Christian histories. If the portions of the work yet to appear, in which the delicate and difficult task of speaking about the Christian treatment of the Jews will be forced upon the writer, are as free from all offensiveness of tone, Dr. Raphall will be eminently entitled to the name of a catholic historian. Good scholarship, good temper, good sense, and good English are all characteristics of the work thus far; the last characteristic alone (not to insist upon the rest) giving it a vast superiority over the slightly prior volume of Rabbi J. M. Wise. In selections from the Talmud, Dr. Raphall is somewhat too discreet. He might give, without harm to his text, more frequent specimens of the curious learning and the quaint epigrams of the Talmud. No literature is more rich in illustrative proverbs than the Rabbinical, as is well shown in the "*Blumenlese*" of Leopold Dukes, and earlier by Schoetgen

and Lightfoot. The few instances of Rabbinical stories in this history make us ask for more.

We trust that a free use and an extensive circulation of these volumes among Christian readers will realize the wish so eloquently expressed in the closing words of the Preface: "We therefore fully expect that good men of every creed and every lineage will bid us 'God speed'; that wise men will approve of our design; and that both will strengthen our hands in our honest endeavor to break down that icy barrier which Pride and Ignorance have raised, which Bigotry and Prejudice have so long upheld, between those who are children of one Father, creatures of one God."

The Physiology of the Senses; or How and What we See, Hear, Taste, Feel, and Smell. By A. B. JOHNSON, Author of "Religion in its Relation to the Present Life," &c., &c. New York: Derby and Jackson. 1856. 12mo. pp. 214.

THIS little book is well fitted to aid one who should wish to make a careful estimate of the knowledge that comes to us through the senses, and to resolve into an exact order the confusions that result from our ignorance and inattention. The writer is evidently a nice observer, clear in his conceptions and statements, and happy in his illustrations. He must, we think, have been subjected in early life to the discipline proposed by Dr. Johnson, when he counselled, "If a child says he looked out of this window when he looked out of that, whip him," — and the result is quite a valuable treatise and help towards accurate perception and description.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co.'s series of the British Poets advances with the publication, in three volumes, of "The Poetical Works of John Skelton." The editor has adopted for his chief guide the edition of the Rev. Alexander Dyce, but has found occasion for the exercise of all his skill in this, which is one of the most difficult of the tasks in-

volved in the series. The biography of the poet is obscure, his language has the difficulties of antiquity and of a transition period, and the early imprints of his works were faulty. We may therefore feel that Professor Childs has had no easy office in annotating these volumes. All that care, good judgment, and fine taste can do, he has done for us.

The duodecimo edition of Irving's admirable biography of Washington presents now its first volume from the press of Putnam & Co. of New York. The octavo edition issued to subscribers has had a great circulation, but the smaller size will insure the larger circle of readers. The author, having originally designed to complete his work in three volumes, has found, to the regret of nobody but himself, that he shall need a fourth. Why not run up to a sixth, and give us episodes of his own rich wisdom and fancy?

Messrs. Ivison and Phinney of New York have published "A Selection from the Sermons of Rev. John Humphrey, edited by his Father, Rev. Heman Humphrey, D. D. With Introductory Memoirs by Rev. William I. Budington." 8vo. pp. xcix. and 320. A strong personal regard for the pure-minded and amiable subject of the memoir and author of the sermons in this volume has engaged us in the perusal of its pages. His short life devotedly given to his beloved profession accomplished the highest end of any life, in the deep impression which it made upon the hearts of his friends. His blessing was that of those who die young, after having proved that their existence is a blessing to others. His sermons, which are above the average of pulpit discourses, are earnest utterances of a pious heart and a well-trained mind, but rarely affected by the traditional theology in which Orthodoxy tries in vain to train its young generations.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Co. have published a "Memoir of the Life of Harriet Preble, containing Portions of her Correspondence, Journal, and other Writings, Literary and Religious. By Professor R. H. Lee, LL.D." 12mo. pp. 409.

There are good thoughts nobly expressed in a volume of Miscellaneous Discourses and Papers, by C. Van Santvoord, published by M. W. Dodd, New York. 16mo. pp. 456.

"Hints concerning Church Music, the Liturgy, and Kindred Subjects, prepared by James M. Hewins," is the title of a volume published by Ide and Dutton, Boston. (16mo, pp. 180.) The hints are many of them timely and wise, and deserve to be regarded.

John P. Jewett & Co. have published "The Last of the Epistles; a Commentary upon The Epistle of St. Jude. Designed for the General Reader as well as for the Exegetical Student. By Rev. Frederic Gardiner, Lewiston, Me." 12mo. pp. 275.

Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. of New York have published a "Chronological History of the United States, arranged with Plates, on Bem's Principle, by Elizabeth P. Peabody." 12mo. pp. 319.

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ART. I.—ANALOGY OF NATURE AND THE BIBLE.*

[A Dudleian Lecture, delivered in the College Chapel, Cambridge, May 14, 1856. By REV. A. P. PRABODY, D. D.]

WERE the principal books of the New, and, I might add, of the Old Testament, records of ordinary events, with but that slight tinge of the marvellous which adheres to all ancient history, I doubt whether their genuineness and the authenticity of their contents would be called into serious question, except by the class of critics who deny that Homer ever lived, and would assign to the Iliad more authors than it numbers Books. The simple argument of Paley in his "Evidences of Christianity" is unanswerable. It met, and more than refuted, the historical infidelity of his age. It, and with it very many masterly treatises of the last century, have become obsolete and comparatively useless, not because they are not true, but because they drove infidelity from its old historical ground to considerations of antecedent probability or possibility. I say this, with Strauss, the

* The text to this Lecture on its delivery was Genesis i. 1: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." John i. 1, 14: "In the beginning was the Word. . . . And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

Tübingen school, and critics of their stamp, in my mind; for their historical theories concerning the symbolical books of Christianity are not founded on any known laws of literary composition or known facts in the history of books, but are simply attempts to account for the existence and contents of these books in accordance with the assumed impossibility of revelation and miracle.

It is, then, at this latter point that Christianity needs defence at the present moment. The region of the possible and the probable is the Armageddon,—the final battle-ground, where the forces of infidelity must be routed or must bear away the honors of victory. If revelation and miracle are intrinsically probable, the Christian revelation and miracles have more than enough of solid historical testimony to substantiate them. If revelation and miracle are in a high degree improbable, this historical testimony, strong as it is, may find its entire counterpoise in rebutting *a priori* arguments. If revelation and miracle are impossible, then this historical testimony, though it seem impregnable, loses all validity; while hypotheses, else absurd, become tenable.

In this region to which the conflict is narrowed, analogy is our chief argument,—the analogy of the known facts of nature to the alleged facts of revelation. Analogy demonstrates nothing; for it argues from a fact in one series or department to a parallel fact in another somewhat similar, yet not coincident, series or department, and, unless assured from other sources, we can never know that it is not with the fact in question that resemblance ceases and difference begins. Yet, under the administration of a self-consistent and immutable God, analogy always proves a possibility; and in proportion to the closeness of the parallelism between the series of facts or the departments of truth compared, its conclusions range from bare possibility to the confines of certainty.

I propose in this discourse, through the aid of analogy, to meet some of the intrinsic improbabilities urged against Christianity and its records.

1. According to the Christian theory, the history of the spiritual creation has been marked by successive forming epochs, at each of which new spiritual agencies

have come into action, new trains of spiritual causes have been put in operation, new modes of spiritual life have been brought into being. Of this sort were the Abrahamic and the Mosaic, no less than the Christian era. Now, if we admit the development-theory of the material universe, this hypothesis as to the spiritual creation is utterly untenable. If, without any creative acts or epochs, a mass of nebulous matter, which filled the entire area comprehended within the orbit of the outermost planet, in cooling, threw off successive rings that globed themselves into worlds; if animal life in its lowest forms was the product of fermenting chaos in the infancy of those worlds; if on our own planet the *Acarus Crossii* furnished the parent stock for all animated nature; if man must abandon the genealogy closing with those sublime words, "which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God," and must trace his ancestry, not upward, but downward, through the ape, the tadpole, the polype, to the microscopic animalcule, — then is man's spiritual history equally a spontaneous development, and the germ of Judaism, the seed of the kingdom of Christ, floated in nebulous vapor, weltered in unformed chaos, was wrapt in the thin cuticle of the first animalcule whose aspiring *nisus* raised him to a higher grade of being. But the Lucretius *redivivus*, the modern apostle of this theory, found it necessary in his second treatise to appeal from the inhospitality of the scientific world to the larger receptivity of popular ignorance. Science denies that species run into one another, or develop themselves from one another, and has settled down in the belief of successive epochs in the material creation, — epochs when new causes were intruded, and new forms of life were ushered upon the stage of being. The tilted strata of the mountain-sides are chapters of cosmogony, each with its plainly written beginning. The cryptogamous plants preceded animal life. The saurian reptiles floundered on the reeking surface of our planet before there was foot of quadruped, or solid ground on which it could be planted. Gigantic forms, that have left only their fossil relics, had their era before man became a living soul. Is it, then, probable that spiritual life alone had but one epoch of creation, — that it came at once upon the

theatre of its manifestation complete in all its parts, in all its surroundings, in all its instrumentalities? As in the pre-Adamite ages there was a passage, not by gradual development, but by successive creations, from lower forms to higher, culminating in man, is it not intrinsically probable that a like order may have been followed in the spiritual creation, commencing with primeval man, the easy prey of error and sin, culminating in the second Adam, "the Lord from heaven"?

2. We pass to another stage of our argument. The forming epochs of the spiritual creation are reported in the Bible to have been attended by miracle. But was miracle a new event upon the earth? Manifestly and confessedly, No. Miracles marked, constituted, the forming epochs of the material creation. By a miracle I mean an event occurring with no proximate cause that has been previously known to produce such an event, and thus indicating the direct action of the Divine power without any immediate efficient cause, or necessarily connected antecedent. Now, if we suppose an intelligent witness of the creation, each stage of the process, every new substance, or organized form, or living being, must have seemed to him an effect without a material cause, a result of God's direct fiat, a shaping of lifeless matter by the Creator's word, — in fine, such an event as was to the eyes of the Apostles the recovering of sight to the man born blind, the Saviour's walking on the Sea of Galilee, the coming forth of Lazarus from the tomb, or the reappearance of the crucified and buried Redeemer. Miracles are objected to as inconsistent with the observed course of nature, as opposed to general experience, nay, as unworthy of the immutable Creator. On these same grounds might an archangel, existent before the worlds, have refused to believe in the creation, shut from his sight the clustering suns and systems, and maintained that his brother archangels who professed to see them were self-deluded or impostors. For not a single stage of the creation can have been an object of foresight from causes previously at work. Not a created being can have been a natural growth. Not an act of forming power and organizing wisdom can have obeyed any law but that of the attributes of Him to whom all things wise and good are possible.

To my own mind this argument is conclusive; and the objector is best answered by those words of Jehovah to Job from the whirlwind: "Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea? Or hast thou walked in the search of the depth? Knowest thou this because thou wast then born? or because the number of thy days is great?" When I contemplate the diversity of the creation, the infinity of resources which it exhibits, the miracles beyond calculation and thought of which it bears the record, dull, leaden uniformity thence onward seems the least probable theory. I expect to find the leading epochs in the spiritual, as in the material creation, marked by miracle, — new life for men's souls attended and attested by visible signs of omnipotence, — the advent of the world's Redeemer accompanied by a shaking of the powers of nature, and the tremulous upheaving of renewed life from the realm of the dead.

3. We are led next to consider the objection to miracles grounded on the assumed uniformity of the system and inflexibility of the laws of nature. In the highest of all senses, that system is undoubtedly uniform, those laws inflexible; for nature can never manifest aught more, less, or other than the attributes of its sole Creator and supreme Legislator. There can be no contrasts that are not embraced in a broader generalization, — no discords that are not merged in a more comprehensive harmony, — no divergent tendencies, that do not beyond human vision converge in ends worthy of the wisdom, declarative of the love, from which, behind human vision, they issued on their separate tracks and missions.

But in the common sense of the word, the system of the universe is not uniform. Astronomy reveals no unvarying type in the structure, environments, and movements of the heavenly bodies. There are, in the remotest outlying provinces of telescopic vision, nebulae unresolved, and, as is believed by most or all astronomers, unresolvable. It matters not, for our argument, whether they are in the process of consolidation, but at earlier stages of their physical history than the stars that present a sharply defined disc; or whether they are permanent masses of nebulous vapor. In either case, the field of telescopic vision presents, as concurrently under

the Divine jurisdiction, two different classes of celestial bodies, which must needs manifest unlike phenomena, be controlled by separate orders of physical laws, and bear widely diverse relations to their secondaries, if they are centres of systems, and to animated nature, if they are, both or either, inhabited. The binary stars, revolving in determinate periods about their common centre of gravity, present also evidences of yet another system; for the mutual relation of each pair of these celestial *gemini* cannot be explained by analogies drawn from our solar system, nor yet embraced in our theories of the single stars.

In our own system, there are wide diversities. The diurnal rotation of the planets—the most important of all their motions, if we consider them as inhabited worlds—divides them into two classes; the smaller and nearer planets having days more than twice as long as those of Jupiter and Saturn. The unequal distribution of satellites in the system, the solitary revolution of Mars, the gorgeous retinue of Jupiter, the marvellous environment of Saturn, constitute differences which science comprehends in no theory, legitimates by no laws, harmonizes by no sweeping generalization, but can only point to the inscrutable will of Him who has made one star to differ from another star in glory.

The comets remain anomalies in the system. What uses they subserve, what dreary depths or glorious distances of space they penetrate in their aphelion, we know not, and on earth can never know. Hardly to be recognized by marks of identity when they are reputed to return,—or, if cognizable, never keeping “tryst” with the astronomer, but always before or behind his appointed time,—it may be doubted whether they are better known now than when their advent used to spread terror among the nations. In them are “hidings of His power,” and a stern rebuke for the arrogance which would track step by step the path of Omnipotence, drop its line and plummet into the fathomless depths of the Divine counsels, and circumscribe the immeasurable creation within laws and limits of its own devising. Equally anomalous are the asteroids,—that cluster of planets so strangely multiplying under increased telescopic power, where human science says

there should be but one. Has there been a miracle in that region of the heavens? Was there a pristine parting of the nebulous ring, which should, according to our theories, have globed itself in undivided unity? Has there been a disruption from some impinging contact or explosive force? Can moral, spiritual causes have left their record in a shattered world, — a memorial of the righteous displeasure of an outraged Deity? We know not, and it is idle to speculate. Suffice it to say, that *there* is a region of permanent miracle, — of diversity with no cause that we can trace; that *there* is a *lacuna* in our system of nature, a caveat against the presumption which would claim to pronounce *ex cathedra* all that it was ever possible for God to do.

Whence, again, come the meteoric stones? Of origin foreign to our own planet, or at least proceeding from sources that elude our search, their very motions incapable of being reduced to any known law, they indicate that we are surrounded by forces which we cannot measure or calculate, — that there are ordinances of the heavens which we have not learned to register; and they may well make us cautious in applying the limitations of our theories to events, though more significant, not one whit more abnormal, which may have occurred in connection with the religious history of our planet.

Here let me not be misunderstood. I doubt not the harmony of the system of nature. I doubt not that there are in the universe intelligences that can trace and comprehend it, and that to such minds the vast circumference of created things is girdled by the inscription, "God is one." The point of my argument is this. In the system of nature, there is seeming diversity and contrariety of plan where we believe that there is only unity and harmony. We therefore have no reason to deny that, in the administration of human affairs, there may have been like seeming diversity and contrariety, — as must have been the case, if at certain periods and in certain places the action of proximate causes has been suspended, and Omnipotence has wrought with no intervening agency. As regards the diversities and abnormal facts in the system of nature, we demand the testimony, not of our own senses, but of competent scientific observers. By parity of reason we can demand, as to

the diversities and abnormal facts in the administration of human affairs, nothing more than the testimony of competent and disinterested eye and ear witnesses. *A priori* considerations bear with no stronger weight against miracles, than against the astronomical facts I have cited, which it would be simply ridiculous to doubt,—as it would indeed be to doubt any facts in science or in general history on the grounds on which religious scepticism is accustomed to base its cavils and objections.

As regards general laws, it will be time to maintain their inflexibility, when we have proved their existence. That certain consequents which we call effects are wont to follow certain antecedents which we call causes, we indeed know; and to the extent of these observed sequences we can expect, plan, and act with confidence. But how numerous are the events which we cannot calculate,—as to which the philosopher has as little foresight as the idiot,—the sage of the nineteenth century after Christ, as the barbarian of the nineteenth century before Christ! How know we that what we call general laws (but might more reverently term accustomed modes of the Divine operation) extend any further than is needed to assist our calculation? How know we that, beyond this limited range, a discretionary Providence may not be the only law? I say not that this is the case; but he who objects to well-authenticated, yet exceptional facts, on the ground of general laws, is bound to demonstrate those laws before he uses them in argument.

This demonstration is rendered the more difficult by the results, or rather the non-results, of physical science. Six thousand years of research have failed to reveal efficient forces in nature. We talk of gravitation, cohesion, caloric, electricity, magnetism, and the like. These are but euphemisms for our ignorance,—fence-words set up at the extremest limits of our knowledge; and in the impossibility of detecting, or even conceiving of, any inherent force in brute matter, we are constrained to refer all power directly to mind, intelligence, volition.

There are, then, no analogies in nature which forbid our belief in the occurrence of events that seem abnormal, if there have been epochs in the Divine adminis-

tration when such events could best subserve the counsels of infinite love. We cannot deny that such epochs may have occurred in connection with man's spiritual needs. We indeed see plainly that a uniform course of administration, in the general tenor of the world's history, best meets these needs. But may they not also have been subserved in a still higher sense by exceptional events at marked epochs, designed to sanction special revelations of the Divine truth and will,—to inaugurate new eras of religious discipline,—to lay bare the ever-working arm of the Omnipotent,—to say to the nations, as it is not said in the ordinary course of nature, "Behold your God"?

4. But were we to admit in the abstract the possibility of miracles, there are some minds which are repelled from the miracles of the Bible by a certain poetical character inherent in them, their circumstances, and their narratives. They are often represented as having been wrought under circumstances highly picturesque, with surroundings that make either a wonderfully brilliant or a strongly contrasted setting for the work of superhuman power; and in some instances, especially in the Old Testament, the narrative of miracle rolls on with such an epic stateliness and majesty, as hardly to need an artificial rhythm and cadence to make it the loftiest poetry. Now, because the myths of other religions are poetical, and their most pregnant fables are the burden of epic song, it is most illogically inferred that these highly poetical narratives of the Bible must be myths, that these fragments of Hebrew epics must be compact of fable. Let us see, then, whether the miracles of sacred story have not in this regard their prototypes and analogues in nature.

The material universe is full of poetry. Not in shapes of bald and bare utility was the creative fiat put forth. Innumerable forms were thrown into being with no other purpose than to adorn and gladden life, to wake rich melodies in the soul, to enkindle and exalt the imagination, and to bring the æsthetic elements of our nature into communion with the incorruptible Spirit, in whose thought lay the archetypes of all beauty and grandeur. Here I might speak of the lakes of liquid amber that lie on the bosom of the Western heaven as

the sun goes down ;— of the glorious nights, when the full-orbed moon chases every cloud from the sky, and rides conqueror and queen ;— of the mystic fires that shoot up from the horizon, dart in lambent rays from pole to pole, span the firmament with their radiant bow, encircle the zenith with their rejoicing crown, suffuse the whole heavens as with an altar-flame of praise to the Most High. It was with lyric pulse and cadence that to the Psalmist's ear the heavens declared the glory of God, and the firmament showed forth his handiwork ; for, says the sacred poet, " There is no speech nor language, their voice is not heard ; yet their chord, their harp-string, vibrates through all the earth ; its strains of worship resound to the ends of the world." To him who has caught the anthem-note from this lyre of universal nature, the miracles of the Bible attest their naturalness and truthlikeness by their poetical forms and aspects. They are not abrupt, angular intrusions of Omnipotence on the stage of human experience and action ; but they come in all the grandeur of celestial magnificence, or with environments of unearthly grace and beauty. The flaming chariot takes the prophet from sight. The shining form walks in glory with the children of the captivity. Music, minstrelsy, chanting angels, float over the hills of Judæa when the Saviour is born. The dove-shaped, fiery symbol rests on his head when he comes from the baptismal stream. Prophets, in the insignia of more than human splendor, attend on either side their transfigured Lord. Angels in robes of light watch his broken sepulchre. And in every miracle wrought by his hand there is as much that appeals to our sense of beauty, as there is that awakens our adoring awe and grateful love. So far from discrediting these miracles on account of their poetical features and surroundings, I cannot but feel with profound conviction that in them the God of nature, the Inspirer of song, the beauty-breathing, joy-giving Soul of this glorious universe, renews the poetry of creation's dawn and the harmony of the morning stars,— puts forth the very same attributes which are enshrined and vocal in all things that He has made.

5. I would, finally, speak of the Bible itself in one of its aspects, which lies open to objection and cavil, but in which it only repeats the analogy of nature. I refer

to its miscellaneousness. Whatever our theory of inspiration, if we admit the fact of Divine revelations, we cannot doubt that Providence intended that those revelations should be preserved and transmitted in adequate and trustworthy records; and if the Bible in its form and character shows itself ill adapted for such an office, its inadequacy reflects discredit upon its contents. Why, then, is the Bible so miscellaneous and fragmentary? Why are we left to gather up traits of the Divine from among genealogies, records of wars and revolutions, stories of human folly and guilt, dreary wastes of prosaic detail? Why, under the leading of an orderly Providence, was not the pen of inspiration so guided that we might have in one part of the record a body of theology, in another a code of moral laws, in another an exposition of human nature and destiny, in another a digest of the religious history of the race,—so that the Scriptures might be studied like a school-book, and even the youth, the very child, might go forth thoroughly furnished with accurate knowledge, to which nothing need afterward be added?

A sufficient answer, indeed, to this question might be, that a Bible thus written must needs have narrowed and belittled religious truth,—must have curtailed the infinite, not only to the dimensions of a finite mind, but to dimensions which that mind itself would outgrow; for the mind that in its early years comprehended all revealed truth would exceed it, overlap it, look down upon it, in the pride of its strength. All positive systems are thus outgrown. They are of use in departments of knowledge with which we are only remotely concerned, and in which we need but a *modicum* of information. But no man becomes a proficient in any science, who does not transcend system, and gather up new truth for himself in the boundless universe around him. In the science of Divine things there are systematic creeds and catechisms,—man-made Bibles,—which profess to teach the whole of religion. But no sooner does a man place one of these between his own soul and God's Bible, than he shrinks into a theological pygmy, all his powers of apprehension and reflection are crippled and dwarfed, and he thenceforward moves, not even in a self-returning circle, but in a constantly diminishing spiral.

But, without laying further stress on these considerations, I would vindicate the Bible by the analogy of nature. In the miscellaneousness of the Bible I trace the hand of God,—his wonted method of teaching,—the stretching forth of the line that goes out to all the earth,—the publication of the word that reaches to the ends of the world. Not with square and compasses of man's device has God built the earth and meted out the heavens. His creation is broken at every point,—here a sheltered valley, there a profound abyss,—on one side a mountain with its summit in the clouds, on the other a leaping cataract; off in the distance the waves lift up their voice, while in the depths above, the stars move each on its separate path, and shine each with a differing glory. And when I look into the Bible, I behold there the same sublime diversity,—on one leaf, as it were, pastures clothed with flocks and valleys covered over with corn, where all that grows is ripe for use, good for food, and the most ignorant wayfarer cannot reach out his hand in vain; and on the next leaf, heights and depths, in which are the hidings of His power, things into which the angels desire to look, and which to scale and fathom may tax the loftiest faculties of successive generations. I follow the Saviour into quiet home scenes, where kind and familiar words flow as they might from the lips of any holy son of man; and then go up with him on the mountain where the brightness of heaven glows from his face and shines from his raiment; and then look from afar upon the dread mystery of Gethsemane, the bloody sweat, the agony, the angel that came to strengthen him;—and for this blending in the record of the genially human, the ineffably divine, the unapproachably awful, I am only the more ready to trace the image of the God whom in part we see and know as we do the countenance of a brother, who yet dwells in light inaccessible and full of glory, while his ways are in the sea, his judgments a great deep, his paths past our finding out. In the sacred narrative, I mark the Divine providence in the even current of human fortunes unrippled by marvel, as in any common history or biography,—then, it may be, in an obscure hamlet replenishing the widow's wasting oil-cruce,—then spreading darkness over a whole land, rending its

rocks and unsealing its sepulchres; and for this very combination of the unemphatic, the quiet, the grand, the fearful, I seem to read only the more life-like record of Him who smiles upon us in the way-side flower, fills for our individual use the cup of unhopèd blessedness, then moves in storm, earthquake, and tempest, lashes the writhing waves, rides on the whirlwind's wing, and terrifies the nations.

And what though, in this divine miscellany, there is much that at a superficial view we cannot understand, much which transcends our power of use, much even which seems beneath our capacity of use in our present grade of culture and progress? The Bible purports to be a compend of the means employed by God for the spiritual education of men from the birth of Adam to the end of time, and for their education with reference to an inconceivably lofty and expanded sphere of being. In this compend we should expect to find some things which have had their use and wrought their work, — which were adapted to the culture of generations whose condition and habits we know too vaguely to perceive the perfect and divine adaptation that existed; — much, too, which may develop its full meaning only to generations of higher intelligence and truer faith than ours; — much, also, very much, which, pondered and inwardly digested, will reveal to our hearts ever new and growing depth of significance; — much (I rejoice to believe) which, received into our minds, yet not fully germinating here, will grow, and blossom, and bear fruit in heaven. Enough is it for us, that, as with the unwritten, so with the written word, the more we study it, the fuller does it seem of admonition, instruction, and promise, — the more does it reveal of hidden beauties and harmonies; so that the darkness gradually becomes light about us, many of the mysteries are mysteries no longer, and yet, while there is bread from heaven growing under our hands through the days of our earthly pilgrimage, there remains that which fully to assimilate to the substance of our own spiritual being may well demand and crown eternity.

I have thus indicated some of the analogies of nature, which, if they have been fairly stated, meet the objections to Christianity grounded on the alleged improbability.

bility of its historical form. Think not that, though my hour has been expended in buttressing the external evidences of our faith, I am unconscious of the graver moment and profounder interest appertaining to those traits of moral, spiritual fitness, beauty, and grandeur, in which the Gospel is its own witness. But these depend for their fulness of manifestation on the integrity and authenticity of their record. They are blurred and marred by whatever casts discredit on the identity of the Christ of the Gospels with the Jesus who actually lived in Judæa. Thus, in our labor of love upon the walls and about the outer courts of the temple of our faith, we are defending its holy of holies, guarding its mercy-seat, warding off sacrilegious hands from the ark of its covenant.

But let it not be forgotten, on the other hand, that the intrinsic divineness of the Christian doctrines and ethics of itself attaches added weight of probability to the alleged history of Christianity, so that either branch of its evidences, so far from superseding, subsidizes the other. The one makes its appeal to the intellect, the other to the moral nature; jointly enabling us to believe in Christ, as we would love our God, with all the mind and with all the heart.

That faith might thus rest on the twin pillars of enlightened reason and fervent devotion, our fathers consecrated this, their first shrine of learning, to Christ and the Church. May those who have entered upon their heritage advance with equal pace in that culture, in which through the science of nature and of man they may go up to Christ and God, and in that through which piety shall clasp her zone of perfectness around their attainments, and add to the long-enduring yet fading green of their academie laurels her amaranthine crown!

ART. II. — THE LAW OF BURIAL AND THE SENTIMENT OF DEATH.*

ONE of the oldest church edifices in New York, yielding to the rapid encroachments of trade upon what, fifty years ago, formed the arena of eligible dwellings, has recently been sold, and at the same time several feet of the cemetery attached thereto were appropriated by the city to widen one of the most frequented thoroughfares. Two legal questions arose from these incidents: the trustees of the property claimed a specific indemnification for the public occupancy of their land, and a descendant of one of the individuals buried within these precincts claimed that the church should provide another and satisfactory place of sepulture, and assume the expense of the reinterment. This latter demand involves the consideration of the rights inherent in, and related to, the dead and their resting-place, — a subject, in its ultimate and indirect consequences, of large and peculiar interest, and one which, in the absence of precedents, requires a distinct code. The court appointed Samuel B. Ruggles to examine the laws bearing on the case, and report a legal opinion, and the reasons thereof, as to the rights of the church, the city, and the kindred of the deceased respectively. The result has been, not only a satisfactory statement of conflicting claims on a basis of sound judgment and equity, but a valuable treatise on the law of sepulture. Not satisfied with bringing his researches and arguments to bear on the special case thus submitted to him, Mr. Ruggles has taken a comprehensive, historical, and detailed view of the general subject; and demonstrated the defects of the present laws, as well as the social and religious importance of adequate legislation adapted to the exigencies continually arising, and based on the spirit of our institutions, which obviously require provisions in this regard anticipated in older countries by ecclesiastical law and religious authority. The scope of the question, in the present instance, is thus briefly stated: —

* *An Examination of the Law of Burial, in a Report to the Supreme Court of New York.* By SAMUEL B. RUGGLES, Referee. New York: D. Fanshaw. 1856.

"The proper disposal of this question by this court will be important, not so much in the pecuniary amount involved in the present instance, as in furnishing a rule for other cases where cemeteries may be disturbed, either by their proprietors or by public authority. It broadly presents the general question, which does not appear to be distinctly settled in this State :— Who is legally and primarily entitled to the custody of a dead body ? and as a necessary result, who is legally bound to bury it ? and further, if a body be ejected from its place of burial, who then is legally and primarily entitled to its custody, and who is bound to re-bury it ?

"The widening of Beekman Street by the Corporation of New York removed every building and other impediment which stood in its way. Among them was the grave, the '*domus ultima*' of Moses Sherwood, over which a marble tombstone, inscribed with his name, had been standing more than fifty years. His skull and bones, and portions of his grave-clothing, were found lying in his grave. Had any one any legal interest in that grave, or any right to preserve the repose of its occupant ? or any legal interest in the monument, or right to preserve its repose ? Do these rights come within the legal denomination of 'private property,' which the Constitution forbids to be taken for public use without just compensation ?

"Property has been concisely defined to be, 'the highest right a man can have to a thing.' Blackstone spreads out the definition into the 'sole and exclusive dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe.' 2 *Black. Comm.* 2.

"The things which may thus be exclusively appropriated, and thereby made 'private property,' are not confined to tangible or visible objects, for light and air are 'property,' and belong exclusively to the occupant so long as he has possession. The right to the mere repose of a grave, although intangible or invisible, may none the less be property. The dividing line between 'property' as a thing objectively appropriated by a person, and a 'personal right' as subjectively belonging to a person, is not always entirely distinct. The proprietary right to a gravestone, and the personal right to its undisturbed repose, may measurably partake of both. In a certain sense, even a purely personal right may be said to be appropriated. Nor is the distinction very essential ; for if there be a right in a grave or its contents, or appendages, which the law will recognize, it matters little whether the right is appropriated by or belongs to its possessor. Is there, then, a right of which a court of justice will take cognizance ? " — pp. 33, 34.

He subsequently illustrates the requisiteness of the protection insisted on : —

“The necessity for the exercise of such authority, not only over the burial, but over the corpse itself, by some competent legal tribunal, will appear at once, if we consider the consequences of its abandonment. If no one has any legal interest in a corpse, no one can legally determine the place of its interment, nor exclusively retain its custody. A son will have no legal right to retain the remains of his father, nor a husband of his wife, one moment after death. A father cannot legally protect his daughter’s remains from exposure or insult, however indecent or outrageous, nor demand their re-burial if dragged from the grave. The dead deprived of the legal guardianship, however partial, which the Church so long had thrown around them, and left unprotected by the civil courts, will become, in law, nothing but public nuisances, and their custody will belong only to the guardians of the public health, to remove and destroy the offending matter, with all practicable economy and despatch. The criminal courts may punish the body-snatcher who invades the grave, but will be powerless to restore its contents.

“Applied to the case now under examination, the doctrine will deny a daughter, whose filial love had followed her father to the grave, and reared a monument to his memory, all right to ask that his remains, uprooted by the city authorities and cast into the street, shall again be decently interred. In England, with judicial functions divided between the State and the Church, the secular tribunals would protect the monument, the winding-sheet, the grave-clothes, even down to the ribbon (now extant) which tied the *queue*; but the Church would guard the skull and bones. Which of these relics best deserves the legal protection of the Supreme Court of law and equity of the State of New York? Does not every dictate of common sense and common decency demand a common protection for the grave and all its contents and appendages? Is a tribunal like this under any legal necessity for measuring its judicial and remedial action by the narrow rule and fettered movement of the common law of England, crippled by ecclesiastical interference? But may it not put forth its larger powers and nobler attributes as a court of enlightened equity and reason?” — pp. 43, 44.

We have not space to follow Mr. Ruggles through the very able reasoning, and the eloquent applications of the facts of history and jurisprudence, to the elucidation of these questions. It is seldom that a legal report con-

tains so much to excite and enlist the better sympathies of humanity. It is, in fact, a learned and finished discourse on the Law of Burial, as a great social interest and sacred private duty, with examples drawn from antiquity and hallowed by the universal instinct of mankind. The inference arrived at is condensed in the following five points, which should be the basis of that legislative enactment which we trust will reward this effective plea.

"1. That neither a corpse, nor its burial, is legally subject, in any way, to ecclesiastical cognizance, nor to sacerdotal power of any kind.

"2. That the right to bury a corpse, and to preserve its remains, is a legal right, which the courts of law will recognize and protect.

"3. That such right, in the absence of any testamentary disposition, belongs exclusively to the next of kin.

"4. That the right to protect the remains includes the right to preserve them by separate burial, to select the place of sepulture, and to change it at pleasure.

"5. That, if the place of burial be taken for public use, the next of kin may claim to be indemnified for the expense of removing and suitably re-interring the remains." — pp. 58, 59.

Meantime we cannot better promote the object in view than by improving the occasion to consider the importance, in this age and country, of not only protecting by law, but encouraging through art and by the most emphatic recognition, memorials of the departed, — the feeling of our common nature which environs Death with sacredness, — the sentiment of retrospection and reverence which embalms for ever the examples of the benefactors of our race, and endears the loved and lost of our affections.

It is rare for American legislation, or discussions incident thereto, to go beyond economical and material interests; and when, as in the instance before us, it is proposed to vindicate a sentiment by law, to attest a right founded entirely upon the better instincts, we deem the circumstance memorable and suggestive. The only constant minister to the sense of the beautiful among us is Nature, the only universal appeal to reverence is Death; historical associations are too

recent, and Art too much of a luxury, to awaken and confirm these divine and neglected elements of humanity; but through the affections and the idea of a common destiny, what may be called the sentiment of Death—that is, the memory of the departed, the places of their sepulture, the trophies of their worth—lures the least aspiring mind to “thoughts that wander through eternity,” and promotes that association with the past which the English moralist declared essential to intellectual dignity. Accordingly, this plea for the authority of the living to protect the dead,—this invocation of law to guard as sacred what has no relation to thrift, is a practical recognition of the claims of reverence as a principle of civilized life which we desire gratefully to record. Never did a Christian nation manifest so little of this conservative and exalted sentiment, apart from its direct religious scope, as our own. This patent defect is owing, in a measure, to the absence of the venerable, the time-hallowed, and the contemplative in the scenes and the life of our country; it is, however, confirmed by the busy competition, the hurried, experimental, and ambitious spirit of the people. Local change is the rule, not the exception; scorn of wise delay, moderation, and philosophic content, the prevalent feeling; impatience, temerity, and self-confidence, the characteristic impulse; houses are locomotive, church edifices turned into post-offices, and even theatres; ancestral domains are bartered away in the second generation; old trees bow to the axe; the very sea is encroached upon, and landmarks are removed almost as soon as they grow familiar; change, which is the life of nature, seems to be regarded as not less the vital element of what is called local improvement and prosperity; the future is almost exclusively regarded, and the past contemned.

If a man cites the precedents of experience, he is sneered at as a “fogy”; if he has a competence, he risks it in speculation; newspapers usurp the attention once given to standard lore; the picturesque rocks of the rural way-side are defiled by quack advertisements, the arcana of spirituality degraded by legerdemain, the dignity of reputation sullied by partisan brutality, the graces of social refinement abrogated by

a mercenary standard, the lofty aims of science levelled by charlatan tricks, and independence of character sacrificed to debasing conformity; observation is lost in locomotion, thought in action, ideality in materialism. Against this perversion of life, the sanctity of death protests, often vainly, to the general mind, but not ineffectually to the individual heart.

When it was attempted to secure the collection of Egyptian antiquities brought hither by Dr. Abbott of Cairo, for a future scientific museum to be established in New York, the representatives commercial, professional, and speculative of "Young America" scorned the bare idea of exchanging gold for mummies, sepulchral lamps, papyrus, and ancient utensils and inscriptions; yet, within a twelvemonth, a celebrated German philologist, a native biblical scholar, and a lecturer on the History of Art, eagerly availed themselves of these contemned relics to prove and illustrate their respective subjects; and the enlightened of Gotham's utilitarian citizens acknowledged that the trophies of the past were essential to elucidate and confirm the wisdom of the present. It is this idolatry of the immediate which stultifies republican perception. Offer a manuscript to a publisher, and he instantly inquires if it relates to the questions of the day; if not, it is almost certain to be rejected without examination. The conservative element of social life is merged in gregarious intercourse; the youth looks not up to age; the maiden's susceptibilities are hardened by premature and promiscuous association; external success is glorified, private consistency unhonored; hero-worship grows obsolete; art becomes a trade, literature an expedient, reform fanaticism; aspiration is chilled, romance outgrown, life unappreciated; and all because the vista of departed time is cut off from our theory of moral perspective, and existence itself is regarded merely as an opportunity for instant and outward success, not a link in an eternal chain reaching "before and after." Hence the peculiar value we attach to an able argument for the legal protection of sepulchres, monuments, and cities of the dead, an able exposition of the law of burial as a social interest environed by the sanctities of love and grief, and consecrated by memory and hope. It is of the Christian

obligations involved in the discussion that we would speak, — as one of the few objects of governmental care that directly springs from humanity.

Sentiment is the great conservative principle of society; those instincts of patriotism, local attachment, family affection, human sympathy, reverence for truth, age, valor, and wisdom, so often alive and conscious in the child and overlaid or perverted in the man, — for the culture of which our educational systems, habitual vocations, domestic and social life, make so little provision, — are, in the last analysis, the elements of whatever is noble, efficient, and individual in character; in every moral crisis we appeal to them, as the channels whereby we are linked to God and humanity, and through which alone we can realize just views or lawful action. In our normal condition they may not be often exhibited; yet none the less do they constitute the latent force of civil society. To depend upon intelligence and will is, indeed, the creed of the age, and especially of this republic; but these powers, when unhallowed by the primal and better instincts, react and fail of their end. It is so in individual experience and in national affairs. The resort to brute force in the highest deliberative assembly of the land, and the recognition of the alternative by a large body of citizens, are disgraceful and alarming facts, chiefly because they indicate the absence of the sentiments which the pride of intellect and the brutality of self-will thus repudiate; to them is the final appeal, through them the only safety. And the great lesson taught by these and similar errors is, that the life, the spirit, the faith of the country has, by a long course of national prosperity and a blind worship of outward success, become gradually but inevitably material; so that motives of patriotism, of reverence, of courtesy, of generous sympathy, — in a word, the sentiments as distinguished from the passions and the will, have ceased to be recognized as legitimate, and the reliable springs of action and guides of life. It was the repudiation of these which horrified Burke at the outbreak of the French Revolution; he augured the worst from that event, at the best hour of its triumph, because it stripped Humanity of her divine attribute of sentiment, and left her to shiver naked in the cold light of reason and

will, unredeemed by the sense of justice, of beauty, of compassion, of honorable pride, which under the name of Chivalry he lamented as extinct. He spoke and felt as a man whose brain was kindled by his heart, and whose heart retained the pure impulse of these sacred instincts and knew their value as the medium of all truth and the basis of civil order. They were temporarily quenched in France by the frenzy of want; they are inactive and in abeyance here, through the gross pressure of material prosperity and mercenary ambition. Hence whatever effectively appeals to them, and whoever sincerely recognizes them, whether by example or precept, in a life or a poem, through art or rhetoric, in respect for the past, love of nature, or devotion to truth and beauty, excites our cordial sympathy. In this age and land, no man is a greater benefactor than he who scorns the worldly and narrow philosophy of life which degrades to a material, unaspiring level the tone of mind and the tendency of the affections. If he invent a character, lay out a domain, erect a statue, weave a stanza, write a paragraph, utter a word, or chant a melody which stirs in any breast the love of the beautiful, admiration for the heroic, or the chastening sense of awe,—any sentiment, in truth, which partakes of disinterestedness, and merges self “in an idea dearer than self,”—uplifts, expands, fortifies, intensifies, and therefore inspires,—he is essentially and absolutely a benefactor to society, a genuine though perhaps unrecognized champion of what is “highest in man’s nature” against what is “lowest in man’s destiny.” And not the least because the most universal of these higher and holier feelings is the sentiment of Death, consecrating its symbols, guarding its relics, and keeping fresh and sacred its memories.

The disposition of the mortal remains was and is, to a considerable extent, in England, an ecclesiastical function; in Catholic lands it is a priestly interest. Indignity to the body, after death, was one of the most dreaded punishments of heresy and crime; to scatter human ashes to the winds, expose the skulls of malefactors in iron gratings over city portals, refuse interment in ground consecrated by the Church, and disinter and insult the body of an unpopular ruler, were among the

barbarous reprisals of offended power. And yet, in these same twilight eras, in the heathen customs and the mediæval laws, under the sway of Odin and the Franks, the sentiment of respect for the dead was acted upon in a manner to shame the indifference and hardihood of later and more civilized times. With the emigration to America, as Mr. Ruggles shows, this sentiment looked for its legal vindication entirely to the civic authority. With their reaction from spiritual tyranny, our ancestors transferred this, with other social interests, to popular legislation and private inclination. Hence the comparatively indefinite enactments on the subject, which it is the indirect purpose of this able Report to remedy, by a uniform code, applicable to all the States, and organized so as clearly to establish the rights both of the living and the dead, and to preserve inviolable the choice of disposition, and the place of deposit, of human remains.

The practical treatment of this subject is anomalous. Amid the scenes of horror, outraging humanity in every form, which characterized the anarchy incident to the first dethronement of legitimate authority in France, how startling to read, among the first decrees of the Convention, provisions for the dead, while pitiless destruction awaited the living! And, in this country, while motives of hygiene limit intermural interments, and a higher impulse sets apart and adorns rural cemeteries, our rail-tracks often ruthlessly intersect the fields of the dead, and ancestral tombs are annually broken up to make way for streets and warehouses. The tomb of Washington is dilapidated; the bones of Revolutionary martyrs are neglected, and half the graveyards of the country desecrated by indifference or misuse. The conservative piety of the Hebrews reproaches our inconsiderate neglect, in the faithfully tended cemetery of their race at Newport, R. I., where not a Jew remains to guard the ashes of his fathers, thus carefully preserved by a testamentary fund.

Modes and places of burial have an historical significance. The pyre of the Greeks and Romans, the embalming process of the Egyptians, the funeral piles of Hindoo superstition, and those bark stagings, curiously regarded by Mississippi voyagers, where Indian corpses are exposed to the elements,—the old cross-road inter-

ment of the suicide,—the inhumation of the early patriarchs and Christians,—all symbolize eras and creeds. The lying-in-state of the royal defunct, the sable catafalque of the Catholic temples, the salutes over the warrior's grave, the "Day of the Dead" celebrated in Southern Europe, the eulogies in French cemeteries, the sublime ritual of the Establishment, and the silent prayer of the Friends, requiems, processions, emblems, inscriptions, badges, and funereal garlands, mark faith, nation, rank, and profession at the very gates of the sepulchre. Vain is the sceptic's sneer, useless the utilitarian's protest; by those poor tributes the heart utters its undying regret and its immortal prophecies, though "mummy has become merchandise," and to be "but pyramidically extant is a fallacy in duration"; for, as the same religious philosopher* of Norwich declared, "it is the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at a man, to tell him he is at the end of his nature"; and therefore, in the grim Tuscan's Hell, the souls of those who denied their immortality when in the flesh, are shut up through eternity in living tombs. How the idea of a local abode for the mortal remains is hallowed to our nature, is realized in the pathos which closes the noble and sacred life of the Hebrew lawgiver: "And he buried him in a valley of the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." †

Natural, therefore, and human is the consoling thought of the poet, of the ship bringing home for burial all of earth that remains of his lamented friend:—

"I hear the noise about thy keel;
I hear the bell struck in the night;
I see the cabin-window bright;
I see the sailor at the wheel.

"Thou bringest the sailor to his wife,
And travelled men from foreign lands;
And letters unto trembling hands;
And thy dark freight, a vanished life.

"So bring him: we have idle dreams:
This look of quiet flatters thus
Our home-bred fancies; O, to us,
The fools of habit, sweeter seems

* Sir T. Browne.

† Deut. xxxiv. 6.

“To rest beneath the clover sod,
That takes the sunshine and the rains,
Or where the kneeling hamlet drains
The chalice of the grapes of God,

“Than if with thee the roaring wells
Should gulf him fathom deep in brine,
And hands so often clasped in mine
Should toss with tangle and with shells.”*

Doubtless many of the processes adopted by blind affection and superstitious homage, to rescue the poor human casket from destruction, are grotesque and undesirable. Had Segato, the discoverer of a chemical method of petrifying flesh, survived to publish the secret, it would be chiefly for anatomical purposes that we should appreciate his invention; there is something revolting in the artificial conservation of what, by the law of nature, should undergo elemental dissolution; and it is but a senseless homage to cling to the shattered chrysalis when the winged embryo has soared away:

“All’ ombra de’ cipressi e dentro l’ urne
Confortate di pianto, è forse il sonno
Dello morte men duro?”†

The fantastic array of human bones in the Capuchin cells at Palermo and Rome; the eyeless, shrunken face of Carlo Borromeo embedded in crystal, jewels, and silk, beneath the Milan cathedral; the fleshless figure of old Jeremy Bentham in the raiment of this working-day world; the thousand spicy wrappings which enfold the exhumed mummy whose exhibition provoked Horace Smith’s facetious rhymes,—these, and such as these, poor attempts to do vain honor to our clay, are not less repugnant to the sentiment of death, in its religious and enlightened manifestation, than the promiscuous and indecent putting out of sight of the dead after battle and in the reign of pestilence, or the brutal and irreverent disposal of the bodies of the poor in the diurnal pits of the Naples Campo Santo. More accordant with our sense of respect to what once enshrined an immortal spirit, and stood erect and free, even in barbaric manhood, is the adjuration of the bard:—

* Tennyson’s *In Memoriam*.

† *Dei Sepolchri*, di Ugo Foscolo.

"Gather him to his grave again,
And solemnly and softly lay,
Beneath the verdure of the plain,
The warrior's scattered bones away ;
The soul hath quickened every part, —
That remnant of a martial brow,
Those ribs that held the mighty heart,
That strong arm, — strong no longer now !
Spare them, each mouldering relic spare,
Of God's own image ; let them rest,
Till not a trace shall speak of where
The awful likeness was impressed."

Yet there are many and judicious reasons for preferring cremation to inhumation ; the prejudice against the former having doubtless originated among the early Christians, in their respect for patriarchal entombment practised by the Jews, and their natural horror at any custom which savored of heathenism. But there is actually no religious obstacle, and, under proper arrangement, no public inconvenience, in the burning of the dead. It is, too, a process which singularly attracts those who would save the remains of those they love from the possibility of desecration, and anticipate the ultimate fate of the mortal coil "to mix for ever with the elements" ; at all events, there can be no rational objection to the exercise of private taste and the gratification of personal feeling on this point. "I bequeath my soul to God," said Michael Angelo, in his terse will, "my body to the earth, and my possessions to my nearest kin" ; — and this right to dispose of one's mortal remains appears to be instinctive ; though the indignation excited by any departure from custom would indicate that, in popular apprehension, the privilege so rarely exercised is illegally usurped.

The outcry in a Western town, a few months ago, when cremation was resorted to, at the earnest desire of a deceased wife, and the offence taken and expressed in this city, when it became known that a distinguished surgeon, from respect to science, had bequeathed his skeleton to a Medical College, evidence how little, among us, is recognized the right of the living to dispose of their remains, and the extent to which popular ignorance and individual prejudice are allowed to interfere in

what good sense and good feeling declare an especial matter of private concern. Yet that other than the ordinary modes of disposing of human relics are not absolutely repugnant to endearing associations, may be inferred from the poetic interest which sanctions to the imagination the obsequies of Shelley. Although it was from convenience that the body of that ideal bard, so misunderstood, so humane, so "cradled into poesy by wrong," was burned, yet the lover of his spiritual muse beholds in that lonely pyre, blazing on the shores of the Mediterranean, an elemental destruction of the material shrine of a lofty and loving soul, accordant with his aspiring, isolated, and imaginative career.

Vain, indeed, have proved the studious precautions of Egyptians to conserve from decay and sacrilege the relics of their dead. Not only has "mummy become merchandise," in the limited sense of the English moralist; the traffic of the Jews in their gums and spices, the distribution of their exhumed forms in museums, and the use of their cases for fuel, is now superseded by commerce in their cerements for the manufacture of paper; and it is a startling evidence of that human vicissitude from which even the shrouds of ancient kings are not exempt, that recently, in one of the new towns of this continent, a newspaper was printed on sheets made from the imported rags of Egyptian mummies.

Of primitive and casual landmarks, encountered on solitary moors and hills, the cairn and the Alpine cross affect the imagination with a sense alike of mortality and tributary sentiment, even more vividly than the elaborate mausoleum, from the rude expedients and the solemn isolation; while the beauty of cathedral architecture is hallowed by ancestral monuments. Of all Scott's characters, the one that most deeply enlists our sympathies, through that quaint pathos whereby the Past is made eloquent both to fancy and affection, is Old Mortality renewing the half-obliterated inscriptions on the gravestones of the Covenanters, his white hair fluttering in the wind as he stoops to his melancholy task, and his aged pony feeding on the grassy mounds. Even our practical Franklin seized the first leisure from patriotic duties, on his visit to England, in order to examine the sepulchral tablets which bear the names of his progenitors.

A cursory glance at the most cherished trophies of literature indicates how deeply the sentiment of death is wrought into the mind and imagination,—how it invests with awe, love, pity, and hope, thoughtful and gifted spirits, inspires their art, elevates their conceptions, and casts over life and consciousness a sacred mystery. The most finished and suggestive piece of modern English verse is elegiac,—its theme a country churchyard, and so instinct are its melancholy numbers with pathos and reflection, embalmed in rhythmical music, that its lines have passed into household words. Our national poet, who has sung of Nature in all her characteristic phases on this continent, next to those ever-renewed glories of the universe has found his chief inspiration in the same reverent contemplation: "Thanatopsis" was his first grand offering to the Muses, and "The Disinterred Warrior," the "Hymn to Death," and "The Old Man's Funeral," are but pious variations of a strain worthy to be chanted in the temple of humanity. Shakespeare in no instance comes nearer what is highest in our common nature and miraculous in our experience, than when he makes the philosophic Dane question his soul and confront mortality. The once popular and ever-memorable "Night Thoughts" of Young elaborate kindred ideas in the light of Christian truth; the most quaintly eloquent of early speculative writings in English prose is Sir Thomas Browne's treatise on *Urn-Burial*. The most thoughtful and earnest of modern Italian poems is Foscolo's *Sepolchri*; the Monody on Sir John Moore, Shelley's *Elegy* on Keats, Tickell's on Addison, Byron's on Sheridan, and Tennyson's "In Memoriam," contain the most sincere and harmonious utterances of their authors. Not the least affecting pages of "The Sketch-Book" are those which describe the Village Funeral and the "Widow's Son"; and the endeared author, we are told in the pamphlet *Before us*, has marked his own sense of the local sanctity of the tomb by erecting that of his family in "Sleepy Hollow," in the midst of scenes endeared by his abode and his fame. Halleck has given lyrical immortality to the warrior's death in the cause of freedom; and Wordsworth, in perhaps his most quoted ballad, has recorded with exquisite simplicity

childhood's unconsciousness of death; even the most analytical of French novelists found in the laws and ceremonial of a Parisian interment, material for his keenest diagnosis of the scenes of life in that marvellous capital. Hope's best descriptive powers were enlisted in his sketch of burial-places near Constantinople, so pensively contrasting with the more adventurous chapters of Anastasius. If in popular literature this sentiment is so constantly appealed to, and so enshrined in the poet's dream and the philosopher's speculation, classic and Hebrew authors have inscribed its memorials in outlines of majestic and graceful import; around it the picturesque and the moralizing, the vivacious and the grandly simple expressions of the Roman, the Greek, and the Jewish writers seem to hover with the significant plaint, — heroism or faith, — which invokes us, with the voice of ages, to

"Pay the deep reverence, taught of old, —
 The homage of man's heart to death;
 Nor dare to trifle with the mould
 Once hallowed by the Almighty's breath."

The monitory and reminiscent influence of the churchyard, apart from all personal associations, cannot, therefore, be over-estimated; doubtless in a spirit of propriety and good taste, it is now more frequently suburban, made attractive by trees, flowers, a wide landscape, and rural peace, and rendered comparatively safe from desecration by distance from the so-called march of improvement, which annually changes the aspect of our growing towns. Yet wherever situated, the homes of the dead, when made eloquent by art, and kept fresh by reverent care, breathe a chastening and holy lesson, perhaps the more impressive when uttered beside the teeming camp of life. When the traveller gazes on the marble effigy of Gaston de Foix at Ravenna, and then treads the plain where he fell in battle, the fixed lineaments and obsolete armor bring home to his mind the very life of the Middle Ages, solemnized by youthful heroism and early death; when he scans the vast city beneath its smoky veil, thick with roofs and dotted with spires, from an elevated point of Père la Chaise, the humble and garlanded cross, and the chiselled names of the wise and brave that surround him, cause the parallel and inwoven

mysteries of life and death to stir the fountains of his heart with awe, and make his lips tremble into prayer; and, familiar as is the spectacle, the more thoughtful of the throng in New York's bustling thoroughfare, will sometimes pause and cast a salutary glance from the hurrying crowd to the monuments of the heroic Lawrence, the eloquent Emmet, the gallant Montgomery, and the patriotic Hamilton. Those associations which form at once the culture and the romance of travel are identified with the same eternal sentiment. Next in interest to the monuments of genius and character are those of death; or rather, the inspiration of the former are everywhere consecrated by the latter.

" Take the wings
Of morning, and the Barcan desert pierce,
Or lose thyself in the continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
Save his own dashings, — yet — the dead are there ! "

We enter a city of antiquity, — memorable Syracuse or disinterred Pompeii, — through a street of tombs; the majestic relics of Egyptian civilization are the cenotaphs of kings; the Escorial is Spain's architectural elegy; Abelard's philosophy is superseded, but his love and death live daily to the vision of the mourners who go from the gay capital of France, to place chaplets on the graves of departed friends; * the grandeurs of Westminster Abbey are sublimated by the effigies of bards and statesmen, and the rare music of St. George's choir made solemn by the dust of royalty; deserted Ravenna is peopled with intense life by the creations of Dante which haunt his sepulchre; Arqua is the shrine of affectionate pilgrims; the radiant hues and graceful shapes of Titian and Canova become ethereal to the fancy, when viewed beside their monuments; St. Peter's is but a magnificent apostolic tomb; and the shadow of mortality is incarnated in Lorenzo's brooding figure in the jewelled temple of the dead Medici. What resorts are

* "How can we reconcile this pious and faithful remembrance with the character of a nation generally thought so frivolous and inconstant? Let this amiable, affectionate, but slandered people send the stranger and the traveller to this place. These carefully tended flowers, these tombs, will speak their defence." — *Memoir of Harriet Preble*, p. 70.

Mount Vernon, Saint Paul's, and Saint Onofrio! what a goal, through ages, the Holy Sepulchre! How the dim escutcheons sanctify cathedrals, and sunken headstones the rural cemetery! how sacred the mystery of the Campagna hid in that "stern round tower of other days," which bears the name of a Roman matron! The beautiful sarcophagus of Scipio, the feudal crypt of Theodric, the silent soldier of the Invalides, the mossy cone of Caius Cæstus in whose shadow two English poets yet speak in graceful epitaphs, Thorwaldsen's grand mausoleum at Copenhagen, composed of his own trophies, — what objects are these to win the mind back into the lapsing ages and upward with "immortal longings"! We turn from brilliant thoroughfares, alive with creatures of a day, to catacombs obscure with the impalpable dust of bygone generations; we pass from the vociferous piazza to the hushed and frescoed cloister, and walk on mural tablets whose inscriptions are worn by the feet of vanished multitudes; we steal from the cheerful highway to the field of mounds, where a shaft, a cross, or a garland breathes of surviving tenderness; we handle the cloudy lachrymal, quaint depository of long-evaporated tears, or admire the sculptured urn, the casket of what was unutterably precious even in mortality, — and thereby life is solemnized, consciousness deepened, and we feel, above the tyrannous present, and through the casual occupation of the hour, the "electric chain wherewith we're darkly bound." Thus perpetual is the hymn of death, thus ubiquitous its memorials, — attesting not only an inevitable destiny, but a universal sentiment; under whatever name, — God's Acre, Pantheon, Campo Santo, Valhalla, Potter's Field, Greenwood, or Mount Auburn, — the lasting resting-place of the body, the last earthly shrine of human love, fame, and sorrow, claims, by the pious instinct which originates, the holy rites which consecrate, the blessed hopes which glorify it, respect, protection, and sanctity.

There is, indeed, no spot of earth so hallowed to the contemplative as that which holds the ashes of an intellectual benefactor. What a grateful tribute does the Transatlantic pilgrim instinctively offer at the sepulchre of Roscoe at Liverpool, of Lafayette in France, of Berkeley at Oxford, of Burns at Alloway Kirk, and of

Keats, and Goldsmith,— of all the bards, philosophers, and reformers whose conceptions warmed and exalted his dawning intelligence, and became thereby sacred to his memory for ever! How fruitful the hours, snatched from less serene pleasure, devoted to Stratford, Melrose, and the Abbey! To realize the value of these opportunities, the spirit of humanity enshrined in such “*Mecas of the mind*,” we must fancy the barrenness of earth stripped of these landmarks of the gifted and the lost. How denuded of its most tender light would be Olney, Stoke Pogis, the vale of Florence, the cypress groves of Rome, and the park at Weimar, unconsecrated by the sepulchres of Cowper and Gray, Michael Angelo, Tasso, and Schiller, whose sweet and lofty remembrance links meadow and stream, mountain and sunset, with the thought of all that is most pensive, beautiful, and sublime in genius and in woe!

H. T. T.

ART. III. — MODERN SPIRITUALISM.

WE suppose that there is no need of referring our readers to any books on the subject of this article, as we do not intend to review any particular work, but only to give a common-sense view of the whole subject, based upon commonly accessible data, and presented in a popular form.

The most intricate and difficult part of the study of man is, doubtless, the investigation of the connection between mind and matter. Who can understand the simplest phenomenon in this department? What is the connection between the fact of a volition, known through consciousness, and the anatomical facts concerning the nerves and muscles, producing motion in obedience to the volition? Surely, every sensible man must acknowledge himself entirely ignorant here. But if we push the question a little further, yet greater marvels will appear. We sit down to write, and the pen forms the words, at least the letters, without any distinct effort of volition. This is a familiar occurrence, but who can explain it?

If any one is disposed to speak slightly of such a marvel, to talk of the power of habit enabling us to act

without will, and even without consciousness of action, we can refer to familiar instances, in which persons unconsciously perform acts which they have never done before, but which are usually dependent on the will. Such actions are, for instance, performed by those who walk in their sleep, or who talk in their sleep. Not to refer to extraordinary cases, how is it possible to explain the simplest? Who can explain a dream? In dreams we go to places which we have never seen, meet persons whom we have never known, hear them address us in words that we have never heard, take up books and read prose and poetry which we never saw before, but which we can remember and repeat, on awaking. Where have these places and persons, these words, written and spoken, an existence? How were they created?

Other equally wonderful things, of an analogous character, take place in our waking hours. Who can explain the visions which flash before the eye of an artist, the melodies which come unbidden to the ear of the composer? Still more wonderful are some of the phenomena which accompany disease. We have known a person in the delirium of a fever to repeat with scornful criticism the words uttered by two physicians, who were consulting in a whisper at the distance of thirty feet, two partition-walls being between them and the patient, the doors, however, being partly open. There is a case on record of an ignorant servant-girl, who, under similar circumstances, repeated verses from the Hebrew Bible. It was afterwards discovered that she had formerly lived with a clergyman who was in the habit of reading his Hebrew Bible aloud in a passage next the kitchen. This case is enough to prove to us that no impression on the mind is so faint that it can be utterly forgotten; while the other case proves that we know not how faint an impression upon the senses may be sufficient to make an impression upon the mind. Nor is it necessary for us to perceive the impression upon the sense in order to have it affect the mind. We have known a person of no remarkable musical power suddenly whistle an air by Rossini, which it could be proved he had never heard except when he was attending to something else, and wholly unconscious of having heard it. A more marvellous example of this power of the mind to transcend

ordinary sensation in its unconscious action, may be found in the marvellous arithmetical power of some apparently healthy children. A friend of ours saw in Russia a boy who could count the peas in a dish by merely having them poured in his presence from one dish to another. The boy was, of course, unconscious of any operation of distinct counting. The case of Zerah Colburn in our own country, and of several children in England, presents analogous phenomena.

A careful consideration of such things will convince any candid man that we ought to be very careful in assigning limits to the power of the human system in its cognizance of the outer world. There is nothing to forbid the supposition that the powers of sensation and of memory, shown in the persons of whom we have spoken, might, in rare cases, be united in one person; so that, in peculiar conditions of the nervous system, he might repeat, in a state of day-dream, or trance, with preternatural memory, systems of philosophy or theology which he had casually heard years before, and long forgotten, or narrate events, with the particularity of an eyewitness, although he had not been present at them. It is indeed possible that we must refer to this preternatural quickening of sense the gift of second-sight, which is said to be hereditary in some families of Scotland, and on the Continent. It seems unquestionable, that members of these families have at times seen visions of that which was really occurring to some distant friend. It is a gift of no value, because this second-sight cannot be distinguished from ordinary visions, except by the after confirmation of the event; but there is such strong testimony to the reality of the gift, that the most cautious reasoners are constrained to allow that it may possibly be something more than accidental coincidence.

The effects of the mind upon the body are also very wonderful. Every one knows the effect that good or bad news has upon the digestion. Everybody has heard of various superstitious charms for removing warts. These charms often prove efficacious for those who have faith in them. Indeed, we have known a simple, confident assertion that the warts upon a child's hand would disappear within a certain time, to be fol-

lowed by their disappearance within the assigned period. The touch of the king's hand was once considered a cure for the scrofula, and was doubtless often followed by a cure. The late Dr. Warren used, in his medical lectures, to tell of the healing of a tumor, which he and other physicians pronounced incurable, but which disappeared at the touch of a dead man's hand. A sensible man can scarcely believe that, in these cases, the healing virtue was anywhere else than in the faith of the sufferer.

In Popish countries, there have been innumerable miracles, wrought by the same wonderful agency. One case, alluded to in this journal,* will serve for an example. The tomb of the Abbé de Paris, in the cemetery of St. Medard, was supposed to heal those who stretched themselves upon its marble cover. For several years this good reputation was unblemished. But at length a man happened to be seized with convulsions while on the stone, and from that time, for ten years, nearly every person who laid himself upon the tomb was thrown into like convulsions. Thousands of persons hastened to try the miracle, and deemed themselves compensated for the intense pain they suffered, by the real, or fancied, spiritual and corporeal benefit which they received. Paralytic limbs were restored to motion, and, what is most singular, sceptics and unbelievers, who lay upon the stone to show its inefficiency, were convulsed as severely as those who came in faith; leading us to suspect a lurking doubt in their scepticism.

Protestantism is not without similar wonders. Almost all the conversions under the preaching of Wesley and the earlier Methodists were attended with violent convulsions, which they attributed to the direct influence of the arrows of the Almighty. The great awakening in our Western States, about forty years ago, was marked by similar phenomena; and, indeed, in our own New England camp-meetings there have been seen cases of a like character; the convicted sinner falling into convulsions, and then lying in a trance, perfectly insensible to outward impressions, but bursting out

* *Christian Examiner*, Vol. L. pp. 457-478.

occasionally with a cry of rapture, as if from the beauty of his internal visions.

The Wesleys may have had a peculiar power in producing such effects. In their father's house there were still more strange and wonderful phenomena, which may have been merely a practical joke on the part of some mischievous member of the family. Strange noises were heard about the house, which at times would resemble the rustling of silk, at other times the breaking of glass, or the emptying of coals. But its usual character was that of a species of knocking or rapping, which would sometimes imitate Mr. Wesley's peculiar knock at the door. At first these noises were frightful and annoying; but afterward they became a matter of amusement. The family were disposed to attribute them to the playful ghost of Old Jeffrey, formerly a servant in the house.

This disposition to attribute everything inexplicable to the agency of ghosts, or spirits, is as old as human nature itself. In the law of Moses we have the commandment, "Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them." The Hebrew word כֵּלָן, *ōv*, translated by the phrase "one that hath a familiar spirit," literally signifies a water-skin, or leather bottle. This answers to the Puritan use of the word *vessel*,—to the modern use of the word *medium*. It signifies "one possessed," one who allows his own will to be passive, and lets another spirit come into his body, whether that of a god, a demon, or a dead man. It appears, therefore, that, before the time of Moses, these wonderful, unconscious developments of the soul, made involuntarily when the will is dormant, had been accounted for by supposing the presence of some spirit other than that of the unconscious medium. The precise meaning of the word כֵּלָן, vessel, or medium, in the law of Moses, is shown by a narrative in the book of Samuel. King Saul, being fearful and discouraged at the sight of the Philistine army, and feeling too guilty to dare to pray to God with any faith, asks his servants to find for him a medium. They answered, that such a woman dwelt at Endor. It is, by the way, worthy of notice, that, in all ages and countries, women are more frequently mediums than men, being by nature

endowed with vastly more nervous sensibility and more subject to nervous disease. And it is not only in these strange powers of the human mind that a womanly temperament is an essential part of power. For it is a true remark, recently quoted by Professor Scherb from Plato, that in every case of real genius there must be a blending of man's and woman's nature; genius, whether in man or woman, appears only when manly strength is joined to woman's susceptibility and insight.

Saul goes to Endor, seeks out the woman, and asks her to call up Samuel. Whereupon the spirit of the deceased prophet appears to the woman and speaks to Saul; using either the lips of the woman to speak with, or else speaking through her by ventriloquism. He prophesies to Saul the events of the next day, and the events fulfil his predictions. Of the reality of all this transaction to the parties concerned, we have no doubt. That is, we believe that Saul applied to the woman in good faith, supposing her able to call up Samuel, and we think it most probable that the woman undertook, in good faith, to raise him; that the words attributed to Samuel came from her without the action of her will, so that she, as well as Saul, thought they were the words of Samuel.

For, in the first place, these books of Samuel bear the marks of historic truth; and although the author was not contemporary with Saul, his narrative is, at all events, a proof that such things were credible by the Jews of his own day. This would be enough for us to build our main argument upon; but the narrative proves more to us who believe in the truth of the account. The woman would not be at all likely to risk her life for the mere sake of deceiving the king, or receiving the fee which she might expect. The law of Moses threatened death upon all those who should profess to hold intercourse with the dead, or with spirits of any kind; and Saul had been executing this law in its terrors. Surely this would have extirpated every species of conscious deception. Those who pretended to hold intercourse with the dead, for the mere sake of gaining fees, or making dupes, had doubtless been banished by this severity of Saul. The pertinacity with which, for four hundred years, this law had been evaded, even when, as enforced

by Saul in all its rigor, it could have sprung from no other source than an honest persuasion, in those who violated it, of the reality of their power, or capacity of being mediums, *ōbhoth*, or vessels through which the spirits spake.

Besides this, Saul, while enforcing the law of Moses as a religious duty, must nevertheless have had faith in the reality of intercourse with spirits; otherwise he never would have sought the advice of the woman at Endor. Now shall we think so meanly of the intellect of the king of Israel, as to suppose that he could have been deceived by mere juggling and deceit? Had he not too much sense and acuteness to be taken in by the mere sleight of hand or ventriloquism of those wizards and necromancers whom he had, in obedience to the law of Moses, been banishing from the land? He must have been witness in the course of his life, before, if not after, his accession, to many things which he could not refer to the juggler's art, — many of those wonderful, nervous phenomena, more frequent in the East than in the West, which probably first suggested the arts of jugglery, but which were themselves referred by all classes in the East, as they are by the lower classes there at this day, to possession by spirits. In short, we cannot but regard the passage between Saul and the woman at Endor as of precisely the same nature as those phenomena which, at the present day, are called consultations with a speaking medium. The word ventriloquist, or *γαστριμυθος*, by which the Seventy translate the word *רִמְיָהוּ*, signifies "one who speaks from within his body, instead of from his mouth"; but when the word was first used, it did not refer, as we refer, to one who by art and practice learns to speak in various voices without moving the lips; but the supposition was that a demon, or the spirit of a dead man, spoke out from within the body of the ventriloquist. Thus the translation of the Seventy was correct; but the word *ventriloquist* does not properly represent the meaning of the Hebrew word to our minds. What is now called ventriloquism is, like other feats of juggling, a mere imitation of the marvellous phenomena for the reality of which we are contending. There were, probably, from an early date, counterfeiters of all things; certainly there are, in our days, counterfeit mediums, whom it is very difficult to distinguish from the genuine.

Passages in the histories of the Old Testament, and in the Prophets, indicate that the witch of Endor was by no means the last of the enchantresses who undertook to give the Hebrews an opportunity to converse with the dead. We do not, however, know when this form of belief vanished. In the New Testament it reappears, but with alterations. The authority of the Law had perhaps become better established after the Captivity, and mediums were no longer treated with respect, nor consulted as oracles. Partly in consequence of this, they had become rare, or had disappeared altogether. There were, however, persons analogous to them, supposed to be possessed by evil spirits, fallen angels, and the souls of deceased persons. These are the demoniacs of the New Testament, concerning whom there has been so much discussion among the interpreters of that volume. We need not enter into that controversy, but may simply remark, that the narratives of the New Testament make it evident that a belief in possession by spirits was as strong among the Jews of that day as in the days of the witch of Endor. It is therefore a fair presumption, that there were then extant among them singular cases of mysterious disease, and unusual manifestations of power, which they thought justified them in attributing the strange effects to spiritual agency. It is, however, worthy of notice, that in the Gospel of Matthew we read of an evil spirit being cast out of a moon-struck boy; so that we cannot tell whether Matthew considered the boy moon-struck or possessed, or both, or neither; he simply used the current terms of his day,—the only ones that should be used in simple narrative.

In the book of Acts we read that Paul and Silas were met by a servant-girl who was possessed by a spirit Python, which bore witness to their apostolic dignity, crying out continually, "These men are the servants of the Most High God, which show unto us the way of salvation." These persons possessing Python spirits are spoken of by heathen writers, and the same account is given of them as we have of the witch of Endor,—that is, they are represented as vessels through whom other spirits spake. Paul addressed the girl as though he took the same view, and bade the Python come out of her,

which it did, to the great indignation of her master, who received fees for her oracles. It appears, not only from this passage, but from others in Corinthians, Revelations, Psalms, and Baruch, that the Jews generally took this view of the heathen responses, and supposed them to be given by spirits, — either fallen angels, or spirits of dead men invoked by their aid.

This business of giving oracular replies, as from the gods, was carried on among the ancient Greeks to a much greater extent than most people are aware of. In the flourishing age of the Grecian state there were more than two hundred and fifty places where oracles were delivered. In some places the response was given without the acknowledged medium of human lips; but generally they were uttered by young women in a trance state. Some of these oracles were attributed by the Greeks themselves to the spirits of dead men; others, to Apollo and other gods and demigods. Some were to be obtained only by going through strange ceremonies. In one place, Lebedea, there was a well into which the inquirer descended, and laid himself flat upon his back on the bottom, putting his feet into a small hole in the side of the well. He was then drawn by invisible and irresistible forces into the hole, and received his communications from the spirit-world. This account is given by Pausanias (IX. 39), who declares that he himself went through the tedious ceremonies, and submitted to the unseen force.

The very celebrated oracles at Delphi were uttered by a young woman in a trance state, professing to be a medium of the god Apollo. These oracles were usually delivered in extemporaneous verse, in answer to chance questions as they were proposed by the votaries. Beside the explanation given by the Greeks and Hebrews to the marvels of these oracles, there is another view propounded by free-thinkers among the Greeks, held by most of the Roman writers, and confidently repeated by some critics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; namely, the explanation of attributing them to the wilful deceit and fraud of the priests. The ancient Romans had no oracles; they were a much less intellectual and spiritual nation than the Greeks, and therefore less likely to show any peculiar manifestations of nervous

power ; and in cases of importance resorted to the Delphic or other Grecian mediums. Most of the cultivated and sceptical Romans, however, supposed that the Grecian oracles were given by artful priests ; not reflecting that, if this were the case, the Roman priests would doubtless have imitated them, and received into their own treasury the large fees annually carried to Greece. The same sceptical explanation of the Romans has been adopted by many of the modern critics. Thus Dr. Clarke, in his travels, mentions having discovered a secret passage leading through the rock, and terminating behind the altar at Argos ; and says he (as quoted in Fisk's Eschenberg), " It surely will never become a question again among learned men, whether the answers of these oracles were given by the inspiration of evil spirits, or whether they proceeded from the imposture of priests ; neither can it be urged that they ceased at the death of Christ, because Pausanias bears testimony to their existence at Argos in the second century." Little did Dr. Clarke suppose that these oracles would again become common in all parts of Christendom in the middle of the nineteenth century. But we cannot suppose that he and the Romans are right in attributing these oracles wholly to imposture. Imposture there may doubtless have been, and answers given by priests concealed in subterranean passages ; but our reading of history, and our views of human nature, forbid us to suppose that it was all imposture.

" Never from lips of cunning fell
The thrilling Delphic oracle."

We have already alluded to the fact that the Roman priests did not imitate these oracles, which they had every inducement to do, and would have done, could it have been done so easily as by hiding a priest behind an altar. But Pausanias, in the very passage to which Dr. Clarke refers, says that the oracle was uttered by a young woman inspired through tasting the blood of a lamb slaughtered at a particular hour.

The Pythia at Delphi, through whom the best oracles were announced, was a young woman, selected from the uneducated classes, and bound to a holy, temperate, and chaste life. The trance into which she fell, when seated upon the sacred tripod, was accompanied by convulsions,

said to be sometimes so violent as to terminate in death. In her involuntary utterance of words, as if from another, she resembled the witch of Endor, and the speaking mediums of our own day, while in her convulsions she resembled the patients at the cemetery of St. Medard. The origin of the convulsions was in both places similar. In the cemetery, one man being seized with a fit while lying on the tomb, every other person who lay there was seized with similar spasms. At Delphi, according to common tradition, some goats being seen to shiver and jump in a singular manner, as they passed over a fissure in the rock of Parnassus, every human being who stood over the fissure was seized with a similar paroxysm. Advantage of this was soon taken by the priests, a temple was erected over the place, and the right to sit over the fissure and be thrown into the trance restricted to chosen young women. The tomb of the Abbé, thrown open to all comers, retained its singular power only about ten years; but the Parnassian rock was, by the aid of restrictions and solemn rites, efficacious for more than a thousand years.

And this power retained for a thousand years over the minds of some of the wisest Grecians, is in itself abundant evidence that the oracle was no imposture. As we have already said that the intellectual character of Saul is proof enough that he was not deceived by mere ventriloquism, so would we add that an oracle consulted by the most learned and wisest of the Grecians could not have been uttered simply by lips of cunning; the trance of the Pythia was real, and her oracles bore evidence in themselves of some sort of extraordinary power.

It is true that there were sceptics among the Greeks, who thought that the Pythia knew what she was saying; but these sceptics were few in number. Xenophon not only consulted her, but speaks of her answers as if he considered them Apollo's own words, uttered through her. Herodotus says that the truth of oracles is incontestable; that he will neither presume to question their authority himself, nor patiently suffer others to do so. He gives several examples of the wonderful fulfilment of oracles, and narrates also an instance in which the Pythia at Delphi was bribed by a wealthy citizen to give an oracle at his dictation; and not only was the

Pythia immediately degraded from office, but the citizen himself obliged to fly from the country. Plutarch gives us two essays upon the truth of oracles, in which he was a firm believer. Jamblichus gives us a "beautiful explanation of divination by oracles." Pausanias, as we have already said, consulted oracles, and relates many instances of their fulfilment. Thomas Taylor, the indefatigable Greek scholar of the last century, says, "History must convince the most incredulous, that the numerous instances in which the predictions of oracles have been so wonderfully accomplished could not be the result either of chance or intrigue"; and that "he who can read the many instances of this kind adduced by Pausanias, and yet deny the possibility of man communicating with higher powers, must either be an atheist or a fool." Pausanias also mentions an instance of the Pythia being bribed, and of the punishment which followed.

That the power of improvisation existed in ancient Greece, as it does in modern Greece and in Italy, appears from a dialogue of Plato (*Io*), in which it is expressly affirmed with regard to many poets; and a claim for their inspiration is founded on this fact, that they made the poetry without premeditation, or consciousness of exertion. That this was the way in which the Pythia spoke is the uniform representation of ancient historians. The moment the question was asked, sometimes indeed before the questioner had fairly entered the temple, the entranced girl poured out her response, usually in verse.

We close this notice of the Grecian oracles by translating and condensing one of the numerous accounts which may be found in the pages of Herodotus.

"Cræsus sent different messengers to the different oracles to test them, to see which would give a true answer, that he might afterwards consult them about an expedition against the Persians. He bade all his messengers count the days from the day that they left Sardis together; and on the hundredth day each should ask the oracle to which he was sent what King Cræsus chanced to be doing on that day. Each must write down the answer of the oracle, and return with it to Cræsus. What the others answered is not told; but at Delphi, the instant that the Lydians entered the temple, and asked what they were bid to ask, the Pythia replied in hexameter verse: —

'I know the number of grains in the sand, of drops in the ocean ;
Thought in the idiot I read, and hear ere the word has been spoken.
Odors have come to my knowledge ; a tortoise, coated in armor,
Boils in a kettle of brass, and with it the flesh of a lambkin ;
Brass 'neath the tortoise is spread, and over it brass is the cover.'

The Lydians, writing down this divine utterance of the Pythia, hastened back to Sardis. When Cræsus heard this answer from Delphi, he immediately accepted it with thanksgiving, convinced that that was the only oracle, since it had discovered what he was doing. For after he sent the messengers to consult the oracles, while keeping count for the appointed day, he laid his plans ; and thinking he would do something difficult to find out, and difficult to think of, he cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and himself boiled them together in a brass kettle, covering it with a brass lid."

If we acknowledge the truth of the narratives which the Grecian historians give us, we must confess the existence of a wonderful clairvoyance in the Pythia and other utterers of oracles. But even if we refuse to believe in all the accounts, we must at any rate acknowledge the point which I am most anxious to show, namely, the similarity of the phenomena attributed to the utterance of oracles with those of mediumship. Whatever were the facts of the case, it was supposed by the vast majority of the Greeks that the human body was not only convulsed by the divine power of Apollo, but moved without hands, and that the human mind was endowed, not only with the power of uttering extempore verse, but with the gift of seeing that which is at a distance and that which is future. And, as if to make the analogy with the modern phenomena more perfect, there was one oracle that confined itself to giving medical advice, and prognostication of the event of diseases. Moreover, the reasoning by which the Grecians explained the mode of inspiration, and the causes of defective oracles, is exceedingly similar to that which is heard at the present day with regard to mediums. Taylor believed in the divinity of Apollo, and grieved that the "gigantic impiety" of Christian faith had rendered the world incapable of receiving his influences. How it would have cheered his Greek heart to know that, in fifty years from the publication of his translation of Pausanias, oracles would be again common in all countries !

We will mention but one other passage in the New Testament: the account of Paul's preaching at Ephesus, and inducing those who had used magic arts to bring their books together and burn them. These books, not described in the New Testament any further than by the titles, we know from heathen writers to have been instructions how to perform many wonderful things, — among others, how to cause the appearance of phantoms and of spiritual fire, and how to call up the spirits of the dead, and hold conversation with them. Such books were in common use, even in sceptical Rome. They originated, it is supposed, in Persia, and were of course multiplied only by being copied with the pen; and yet they were numerous for many centuries. What gave them their value? Why was it considered worth while to pay for them the price which a manuscript book must have of necessity cost? Can it be accounted for, except by supposing that some who used them thought themselves successful in following their rules? It must be that persons of good judgment on other matters, and whose opinion would have weight, thought that, by following the directions of the books, they had succeeded in producing these marvellous effects, or in holding intercourse with the spirits of the dead. Even so late as the third century, it is said that Christian writers allude to the heathen who through magic books make tables and chairs prophesy.

We have thus given a brief outline of that argument by which a supposed communication with the spirits of the dead, and with fallen angels, is shown to have been common in the countries of the East for a period of at least two thousand years; and the belief in that communication to have been founded, not on mere deceit and imposture, but also on the actual occurrence of mysterious phenomena, such as convulsions of the body, sometimes fatal, produced merely by sitting in a particular seat, and the utterance of thrilling messages in verse by the mouth of uneducated girls.

The history of succeeding times, both in Asia and Europe, is rich in similar details. Demoniack possession is still believed in the East, and the witchcraft, possession, and popish miracles of the West, in the Middle Ages, are followed by the miracles of mesmerism, Mormonism, and spirit-rapping in the nineteenth century.

When Christianity became the religion of Europe, the Persian doctrine of a Devil, adopted by the Pharisees among the Jews, and retained by them after their conversion to Christianity, became the common doctrine of the European nations; and persons manifesting any peculiar powers were supposed to be possessed by the Devil. These bewitched persons — mediums through whom the Devil acted — are found in all countries and all ages of European history, and at times in immense numbers.

There were indeed many periods when these nervous states of disease became epidemic, or produced epidemic monomanias, in precisely the same manner in which the Salem witchcraft was epidemic, or the modern spirit-rapping is epidemic. At the same time, the Mosaic law being misunderstood by Christian rulers, the command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," which was given only to Israel, and for reasons peculiar to the Israelitish state, was enforced in Christendom, and many thousands were executed for witchcraft. Nor must we think that they were executed without proof. There is no reasonable doubt that, amid the victims of malice and wickedness, there were also slaughtered many who really possessed wonderful and inexplicable powers, consciously and unconsciously exercised; the power lying sometimes really in them, sometimes, like that of the Delphic tripod, or the tomb of St. Medard, more probably in the mind of the sufferers. When a man was reputed to be a wizard, those who approached him, or upon whom he looked, were undoubtedly thrown into real convulsions, like those of the Pythia at Delphi. And when the poor fellow witnessed these wonderful effects upon those whom he approached, how could he fail to believe himself a wizard? Of the great multitudes who have been executed for witchcraft, there were few who did not confess the crime. In New England alone did the accused have firmness and strength of mind to retain their senses, and assert their innocence, while they saw around them the unaccountable evidences of their own guilt, in the convulsions of those upon whom they looked, or who approached them. In Calef's sensible pamphlet, in the time of the Salem witchcraft, he expresses incredulity about all the strange phenomena, and implies that they

can all be explained by the extravagant credulity of the witnesses. Indeed, he convinces us that many men in Boston and Salem were monomaniac upon the subject of witchcraft. But we wish he had given us some testimony concerning the character of those six men who testify to having seen Margaret Rule rise and float in the air above her bed. Similar things are said to take place among us now; of the witnesses who testify to it we can judge for ourselves, but of the witnesses in 1693 we should like to have had Robert Calef's opinion, as well as Cotton Mather's.

The Salem trials show how easy it must have been in the Catholic countries of Europe for malice to kill an enemy by simply accusing him of witchcraft. The accusation, stoutly maintained, in a time when the disease was epidemic, would almost infallibly lead persons of that peculiar nervous organization that renders one liable to such affections to fall into fits on approaching the accused; this would be ocular proof of the truth of the accusation; and would soon react on the accused until it turned his brain, and he would confess and glory in his power, and probably see visions of the Devil and witches visiting him, which he would take for realities. Indeed, so rapid and terrible was sometimes the spread of this monomania, that by the mysterious action of one man upon another, the wonderful sympathy of soul with soul, the same vision as described by one person would appear to his companions also. It is barely possible that this is the true explanation of the floating of Margaret Rule. This spread of the disease, like the strictly physical disease of cholera, first through the lower classes of society, but then sometimes with great rapidity striking in among the learned and strong-minded, is one of the saddest and most fearful of the phenomena. Learned judges, observant physicians, kings, bishops, and clergymen, joined in the popular delusion, and were sometimes convulsed, and even convulsed to death.

These various epidemic monomanias were each marked by their own peculiar features. Sometimes the action of the witches, or mediums, was supposed to be exerted on inanimate things, but usually upon the bodies and minds of those who came near them. These victims were sometimes thrown about on the ground, as if by

invisible hands, sometimes suspended in the air, (as the mediums of spirit-rapping are said sometimes to suspend themselves,) beaten with physical weapons wielded by spirits, or tormented with neuralgia. A very common form of the influence was the endowment of super-human strength, so that the most delicate and frail girl would snap asunder new ropes, or hurl the strongest men in wrestling to the ground. In one of these epidemics hundreds of people were driven to the tops of trees and houses, and restrained, as if by invisible hands, from coming down. In another they were impelled to howl like dogs, in another to mew like cats, and in one district hundreds of persons thought they had become wolves and eaten their own children.

After the Reformation, these epidemic monomanias accompanying the manifestations of the peculiar powers under consideration assumed sometimes a more cheerful form. The Anabaptists, with whom Luther disputed, and on whom Meyerbeer's opera of *The Prophet* is founded, were a sect of Christians who had constant visions of heavenly things, a foreknowledge of the future, and special revelations and communications with spirits. We cannot persuade ourselves that these men were simply impostors and their dupes, nor can we believe that they were simply deceived by their own imaginations, and by insane fancies. Their visions were real impressions on their eyes, even if they were made by powers within their own souls; and their communications with spirits were accompanied with audible voices, — we mean with a real impression in their ears as well as minds. As for their prophesying the future, the evidence for the Quakers of Pennsylvania and elsewhere having been favored with extraordinary revelations of this kind, cannot, we believe, be doubted. Such an instance as that quoted in *Mrs. Child's Life of Hopper*, of the preacher who in his travels passed a funeral in a place where all were strangers to him, and who was impelled by the spirit to follow the corpse, and to assure the people that the deceased was not guilty of the crime of which she had so long been suspected, and that proof of her innocence, and of her saintly character, would soon appear, — which words of a stranger, not knowing by any human means whether it was a man's

or woman's corpse, and whether she had been accused or not, were in one fortnight fulfilled by letters being received from relatives of the deceased residing at a great distance, saying that evidence had come to light proving that the deceased was wholly innocent of the crime of which she had been for twenty years suspected, and under the burden of that accusation walked humbly, charitably, and devoutly for that long time,—we say such an instance, a single one in the authentic, well-attested history of the Quakers, is fully as wonderful as any of the tales of clairvoyance, whether by magnetism or by spirits, of which our days have heard so many; and is to our mind much more credible. For in this case, and in others which we could give from private but trustworthy sources, there is a moral and religious object to be gained which might justify us in expecting a special illumination of the mind.

Nor must we forget, in this mention of the brighter side of the picture, the case of Emanuel Swedenborg,—a man of the highest character, and of the largest scientific attainments, who gave proofs of his intercourse with the spirit-world which have never been satisfactorily explained by those who, like ourselves, feel that they cannot allow the intercourse to have been real.

Finally, to pass over many other cases of individuals who have manifested these abnormal, or at least these unusual, powers of our nature, and have explained them by attributing them to intercourse with the souls of the departed or with other spirits, we come to mesmerism, clairvoyance, and spiritualism. This present epidemic is much milder and more reasonable in its form than most of those which preceded it, and is extended over a vastly greater space of country. Both of these peculiarities may be readily accounted for by the advancing liberality and intelligence of our age, and by the ease and rapidity of intercommunication which now bind the whole earth into one neighborhood.

Mesmerism began some seventy or eighty years since, and attained quite a celebrity, both in its own proper name, and afterwards, we believe, in the form of Perkins's tractors, which gave our countryman, Fessenden, the opportunity to use his caustic pen in the once celebrated rhymes of "Terrible Tractoration." Falling then for a

while out of notice from the English and American public, it was revived some fifteen or twenty years ago, and has, as is well known, been a subject of some notoriety ever since.

We need only allude to a few of the most wonderful claims made by the more recent practitioners of mesmerism and its kindred arts.* They claim that one person can be put completely under the power of another, in such wise as with or without touch to be filled with any thoughts, emotions, or purposes, at the will of the magnetizer; becoming, in fact, a complete case of the possession of one man's body by the soul of another living man. They claim that the magnetizer can put another person into a trance, in which he can read the past and the future, and see that which is most distant, even in the planets, and report it to our earthly ears.

Such are some of the astounding claims of mesmerism, in support of which a great deal of apparently strong, though by no means satisfactory, testimony is brought forward. It was thus that mesmerism paved the way for what followed, preparing the public mind for new wonders; which have come in two different forms. On this side of the Atlantic mesmerism has been swallowed up in the greater wonders of spiritual intercourse. On the other side, it has given birth to what is called by some the Gospel of Atheism. In that new gospel, the existence of souls, spirits, angels, nay, the very existence of God himself, is denied. The subtle agents of electric, magnetic, and nervous power are exalted to the place of God. The human soul is declared to be the highest manifestation of their powers. We must not think this wild scheme of atheism is the production of ignorant persons. Some of those rich in learning, sound in judgment, exemplary and devout in their previous character, have fallen into this monomania of atheism. They attribute to mesmerism, however, the most miraculous powers. They bring forward well-attested cases of miraculous cures performed by the laying on of hands, and cases not only of clairvoyance, in which the mesmerized person sees what is passing at a distance, but also cases in which events yet future, and

* See *Christian Examiner*, Vol. LI. pp. 395 - 435.

which afterwards happen in distant places, are distinctly foreseen and described. Nay, they even claim that a clairvoyant can alter the time of events yet future, and not contingent on his own will !

The forms of insanity which prevail at any time and among any people are determined by the general state of opinion among that people, and this gospel of atheism received its peculiar form from the tendencies of what is called Positive Philosophy,—a philosophy which declares that we can never get any higher truth than that derived from the testimony of the senses.

The wonders of spiritual intercourse begun on this side of the Atlantic we need not describe. Every one knows the modes in which the spirits of the dead are supposed to communicate with mortals, sometimes by simply impressing their minds, sometimes by designating the letters of the alphabet with raps, like those of the ghost at Wesley's house, or designating them by tipplings of the table, as the sorcerers are said to have done in the days of the Roman emperor ; sometimes taking possession of the medium, and speaking like the ghost of Samuel at Endor ; sometimes writing communications, either through the hand of the medium, or through the aid of a pencil or pen simply left upon a sheet of paper ; sometimes seizing upon musical instruments, and giving us again the music which they loved while in the flesh, or new compositions of deceased masters ; sometimes taking the pencil in the artist's hand, and giving us pictures of the new world in which they dwell ; sometimes merely amusing themselves and us by curious mechanical or mental feats, such as telling us of what is going on at a distance, counting peas, or lifting tables or men into the air and causing them to float about the room.

Neither need we attempt to explain all this. Part of it is undoubtedly sheer imposture, part is exaggeration, part is delusion of the senses, part is the dreaming of monomania ; but a great deal of it happens just as it is narrated. To many minds it carries with it the most irresistible evidence of its being really an intercourse with spirits. Nor can we understand how they, in their state of mind, that is, being willing and desirous of that intercourse, can well avoid the conviction that they really enjoy it. As we have already shown how, in the days of

witchcraft, a man might have been convinced even of his own powers as a wizard, and how our fathers in Massachusetts had proofs incontrovertible and conclusive, to their minds, of the guilt of those whom they executed; so in these days there are many who, under the influence of this spiritual-rapping atmosphere, can no more avoid believing in it than they could avoid taking the cholera in the time of its prevalence. We must disagree with them in their views; but so far from blaming them, we hardly dare to say that we pity them, lest that should imply too great dogmatism in our own opinion.

Thus much, however, may be with safety said, that some who believe they enjoy spiritual intercourse are very poor judges of evidence. There have been more cases than one in which persons have played the part of mediums so well, that, upon confessing the imposture and explaining all their tricks, their dupes have obstinately refused to believe the explanation, and maintained that the impostors were real mediums. Not to mention cases that have been made notorious through the newspapers, we will narrate one from private information, on which the fullest dependence may be placed. A clergyman of a town near Boston, wishing to convince some of his parishioners of the insufficiency of the evidence on which they believed that they held intercourse with spirits, invited them to his study, and played the part of a medium for them so well, that, when he attempted to show them his tricks, they refused to believe his word. They accused him of lying, of being a medium and denying it through fear of odium if he confessed it. To strengthen themselves in their own views, they called up the ghost of Dr. Bancroft of Worcester, (who, it appears, plays the same part in Massachusetts now that Abigail Williams did in Salem,) and asked whether their clergyman was a real medium. The ghost of the Doctor replied, "Yes, one of the best mediums in Massachusetts"; and they therefore refused to believe or listen to their pastor's explanations of his modes of deceiving them.

Surely this preference of the testimony of a ghost to that of a living man argues a prejudice that amounts to monomania. The danger of total insanity from this spirit-rapping excitement is probably much overrated;

but the danger of a monomania upon the subject can scarcely be stated too strongly.

We do not pretend to explain the wonderful phenomena of spirit-rapping. It is not necessary to do so. There are scientific men investigating the subject, who are much more competent than we to explain what may need explanation. Doubtless there are phenomena which science is not yet able to explain; and the best lesson which the science of the nineteenth century teaches us is the lesson of suspending our judgment upon doubtful points. The history of physical science gives us hundreds of instances in which that which was once mysterious has now become clear. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, when we meet with inexplicable appearances, to wait for further light. We will not pretend to say what the cause of all the marvels of spirit-rapping is; we wish only to present our reasons for believing that they are not really the operation of the spirits of the dead.

To this end we began with showing that consultation with the dead is forbidden by the Law of Moses and by the Prophets. We have run rapidly through a sketch of the history of similar manifestations, to show that this manifestation is not what its believers claim for it,—a new thing, a discovery by Dr. Franklin and Hahnemann, to which they were stimulated by the exhortations of Swedenborg, and which they were enabled to put in operation by the advanced culture of our age and our country. On the contrary, these marvels have been a constant attendant of human nature from before the days of Moses, and owe their apparent novelty to their having been suspended for a time by the influence of modern science. It is not belief in such things that is novel, but unbelief. Belief in them was almost universal, until the scientific tendencies of the nineteenth century drove it out of the educated classes to take refuge with the unlearned; and it is for this reason, that, in reviving the old belief, the new believers avoid the opprobrious names of ghosts and witches, and use the less hackneyed words, spirits and mediums. Ghost was not, however, always a term of ridicule. On the contrary, a few generations ago he who denied the reality of the appearance of ghosts was accounted an atheist, and even

learned clergymen, such as the pious Baxter, did not hesitate to enforce the lessons of religion by an appeal to these things.

Our sketch of the history of this matter has been slight and imperfect, but we think it has been sufficient to justify us in saying that a careful comparison of spirit-rapping with previous manifestations of the kind will show that it is all one thing from the beginning until now, only changing its peculiar forms from time to time, in consequence of the change made in the general state of the world and of public opinion.

In the days of Moses the intercourse was supposed to be with the dead; when from the Babylonish captivity the idea of fallen spirits was introduced, possession was attributed to them; in Greece, where men believed in Apollo and Mercury, the mediums were thought to be inspired by those gods; in the Middle Ages the Devil had the credit of the whole; and now that a belief in his existence and power is becoming less active and vivid, the intercourse is again said to be with the spirits of the dead. Our hasty sketch hardly gives a tithe of the facts which might be gathered, even from a scanty reading of history, to show the justice of our conclusion. But as all these facts seem to point the same way, how can it be doubted that a thorough research would establish beyond all controversy the identity of the phenomenon at Endor, when Saul consulted Samuel, with those around us in which Judge Edmonds consults Emanuel Swedenborg or Francis Bacon, and Senator Tallmadge evokes the spirit of Henry Clay or Daniel Webster.

Let us return for a moment to the law of Moses, as recorded in Leviticus xix. 31. The word אֵין signifies, as we have said, a vessel or medium; the word יִדְעֵנִים signifies knowing ones, that is, those who know more than mortals, looking into the distant and future, — clear-seeing ones, or, in French, clairvoyants. In order, therefore, to make the prohibitions of Moses intelligible to modern ears, and at the same time keep close to the literal translation, we should render it: *Visit not mediums, nor seek after clairvoyants, to be defiled with them; I am Jehovah thy God.* In other words, *the so-called spirit intercourse of our day is that very thing which was positively forbidden by the voice of God to the*

Israelites in the days of Moses. In other passages of the Law, the penalty of death is threatened to such persons: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." It appears from the book of Samuel that Saul enforced this law, and drove all such persons from Palestine, although he afterwards himself disregarded the law, and consulted Samuel at Endor. The woman, or Samuel through her, foretold the events of the next day, — amongst them Saul's death. But in the book of Chronicles we are told that the Lord suffered Saul to be slain, because he had consulted the medium, instead of consulting the Lord. The book of Kings records it as a thing by which Manasseh provoked the Lord to anger, that he consulted mediums. The same thing is attributed to other kings of Israel and Judah as a crime. The Prophets reiterated the exhortations and warnings of the Law. Isaiah, in a strain of earnest remonstrance against consulting these people, says: —

"And when they shall say to you,
Inquire of the mediums and the clairvoyants,
That chirp and that murmur,
[Or talk with the voice of the dead,]
Say, Should not a people inquire of their God?
Should they inquire of the dead for the living?
To the word; to the revelation:
If they speak not according to this,
For them no bright morning shall rise."

Now, how much does this law of Moses, reiterated through the Prophets, mean for us? Are we to listen to the Law and the Prophets, or to disregard them? Was it only to Israel that these modes of prying into the secrets of the spirit-world were forbidden, or is it a law to us? Shall we class the text with the eternal moral and religious laws summed up in the Ten Commandments, or shall we class it with the things that were adapted to the hardness of men's hearts in the early ages? We answer, that it seems to us a moral and religious law, forming an integral part of revealed religion, and retained in all its force under the Christian dispensation. Not only did the Apostles cast out devils, and deliver men from the power of these supposed spirits, but Paul cast out a soothsaying spirit, a Python that foretold the future, and that bore testimony to Paul's

inspiration. He preferred not to receive such testimony, feeling that the law of Moses was still binding upon him: "Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards to be defiled by them." This command has not a reference to transitory things, but to the eternal struggle of the heart in holding fast its allegiance to God; it is but a corollary of the first commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me"; it bids us trust in Him, the all-wise, all-powerful, all-loving, and calmly await the future without fear, seeking the guidance of the Holy Spirit alone.

We cannot but feel, therefore, that Christian men are forbidden to consult the spirits of the dead by means of a medium. We can put no other interpretation on the words of Moses, and, as believers in revelation, cannot but think that it belongs to the essence of the Mosaic revelation, and not to its mere form; that it is therefore a part of Christian duty.

But if revealed religion thus forbids intercourse with the spirits of the dead, can it be that the intercourse is real? Would God in his providence permit such intercourse as was supposed to be had at Endor, or such as is supposed to be had among us now, and yet forbid it so explicitly by the mouth of the inspired Lawgiver? We cannot believe it. It would make God contradict himself.

It is in vain to reply that God permits in his providence many things which he forbids in his law; for our argument is not built solely upon the fact of the prohibition, but also on the nature of the thing prohibited. If it were possible to consult the dead, the act would be in its own nature sinful only if we consulted them concerning the secrets of the future; an intercourse with them for the purpose of keeping up our faith in spiritual things, or keeping alive our affection for the departed, would not be in itself sinful. When, therefore, God forbids *all* intercourse with the dead through a medium, he implies that such intercourse is not possible. If it were possible, the Mosaic law would have *regulated* the intercourse, instead of *forbidding* it.

As the case, therefore, appears to us, we see the choice offered us between believing in Judge Edmonds and A. J. Davis, or believing in Moses and Christ. Certainly we cannot hesitate in making that decision.

Nevertheless, this reasoning may appear to some persons altogether unsatisfactory. They will say that we are arguing from a written record of great antiquity, to disprove the reality of things which are taking place here at our very doors, and to which our own senses bear testimony. It may be said that we are like the theologians of Galileo's day, who would argue from the Bible to prove that the earth does not move, or to prove that the things which he saw by his telescope had no real existence. It may be said we are bringing up the dead letter of the Bible to oppose the irresistible march of modern progress.

But we think it is not so. We do not rest on single texts of the Bible, but on a long series of passages in the Law, in the Histories, in the Prophets, in the Gospels, in the book of Acts, and in the Epistles, — a series of passages in whose interpretation the whole learned world agree, and whose meaning is indeed so plain that the unlearned cannot fail to perceive it. We bring, not, like the theologians who would set the Bible against physical science, single texts written for other purposes than that for which they adduce them; but we bring forward many, and some of them long passages, speaking directly of this very thing of which we are speaking, namely, of intercourse with the spirits of the dead, forbidding it, and therefore implying that it is not real.

Nor do we deny the reality of that to which the senses testify, but only the inferences which are drawn from their testimony. If spirits had the power of intercourse with us which is claimed by the believers in spirit-rapping, those spirits could easily bring evidences which would convince a reasonable man at once of the reality of that intercourse. We do not deny the testimony brought forward by believers in that intercourse, but we say that to us it does not prove the great claim which they make.

Nor do we conceive that, in saying that the Bible forbids this attempted communication with the dead, we are attempting to set the Bible against the spirit of progress of the age. On the contrary, this historical sketch furnishes good grounds for saying that spiritualism is not a progressive, but a retrogressive movement. In asking us to believe that the spirits of the dead take possession of the bodies of the living, and communicate

to us through the medium of peculiarly gifted persons, it asks us to go back to the faith of the corrupt nations whom God drove out of the Holy Land when he led Israel out of Egypt. If we believe in the reality of spirit intercourse to-day, we must believe in the intercourse of witches with the Devil; we must believe that Luther was in grievous error when he spoke contemptuously to an Anabaptist of what a spirit had told him, and avowed his readiness to slap the spirit in the face; we must believe that the Scotch people gifted with second-sight were inspired by spirits; we must believe in the reality of Popish miracles; we must believe in the validity and efficacy of Popish prayers to the saints; we must believe that a majority of the innumerable ghost-stories of the past are true; we must believe that the heathen oracles were given by the spirits of the dead; we must believe that the magic books burnt at Ephesus were a great loss to the world; we must believe that most cases of insanity, epilepsy, deafness, &c., have been caused by such possession; we must believe that Samuel the prophet really appeared to Saul, and, instead of reproaching Saul for breaking Moses's law, only reproached him for disturbing his repose. It would on this theory at any rate appear that Samuel had different ideas of the rest after death from those of the great men of our day, who no sooner die than they are ambitious to return and address the "progressive minds" of our age with posthumous exhortations, delivered through mediums. It is *possible* that evidence may yet come, too strong for us to resist, proving the reality of modern dealings with the dead; but when we look at this long list of things that we must accept with it, we cannot but hope that the evidence may be withheld from us, and that we may be left alone with scientific incredulity, and with our faith in Christ as the only one who has brought life and immortality to light. He is Light and Life, and when we stand beside his cross, and behold him pierced to the heart by the Roman soldier's spear, — when, with Thomas, we put our finger in that wound, and know that it is indeed He who has risen again *in the flesh*, — we ask no other light, no other assurance of a life to come.

It may perhaps be asked, Why does not the evidence

of spiritualism satisfy you? how do you evade its force? We answer, that we do not pretend to explain its marvels. They belong to the most intricate and difficult problems which can be presented to man. We have no time to investigate them, and if we had time, the painfulness of the subject might lead us to leave it in the hands of those whose natural aptitude for the study renders it to them a less painful task. We regard the actual possession of these unusual powers as a state of some kind of nervous disease. As there have been rare instances in which a person has been constantly in a state of high electrical tension, which we conclude was a state of disease, although we cannot imagine the nature of that disease, so there are cases in which powers of a much more subtle and hidden nature are manifested, and we suppose them to be cases of a much more subtle disease. They are not cases of healthy and natural states of mind and body. The only professed clairvoyants with whom we have been personally acquainted have confessed that the exercise of their power was always followed by nervous suffering, and that they believed their health to be injured by exercising it. In the only cases in which we have been personally acquainted with the family or friends of those claiming to have the power of moving tables and chairs without touching them, the claimants were persons of delicate nervous susceptibility, who thought that the exercise of the power was followed by increased weakness and irritability. The only persons claiming to have mesmeric and "biological" power with whom we are personally acquainted are careful to use it only for the relief of sufferers, alleging that its frequent exercise is injurious to themselves.

We do not intend to assert the reality of clairvoyance, table-tipping, or mesmeric miracles, any further than to say that the believers in them have plausible grounds of belief. But the best testimony has only convinced us of the power of imagination over the patient himself. The mesmeric sleep is doubtless real, but is not produced by a power in the mesmerizer. The balance of testimony supports us in this assertion, although isolated cases seem, at first sight, to prove that the patient was put to sleep when not expecting nor aware of the magnetizer's efforts. That magnetic clairvoyance is unreal is shown,

not only by a critical examination of alleged instances, but in a more striking manner by the history of the Burdin prize, and similar tests in England, which at least showed that large pecuniary rewards, publicly offered for years, have failed to show a single satisfactory case of clairvoyance. Similar tests have been applied to spiritual clairvoyants, with similar results. A leading journal of our country has offered a large remuneration to any person who will give the European news in advance of the steamers, and the offer has been open to all mediums for some years past without the feat having been attempted by any one of them. It is in vain to reply that the spirits are not mercenary. They could if they chose give us the European news, and then decline the reward; although mediums usually are by no means averse to charging a heavy postage on all communications made through them with the spirit-world. It is equally vain to say that this is a captious seeking for a sign. The self-styled spiritualists are fond of comparing themselves thus with the Lord and his Apostles. They claim that modern miracles are as real as the ancient; that in both cases the reality is admitted by enemies, who would attribute them to Beelzebub. There is, however, this essential difference, that in Judæa all men acknowledged the reality of the miracles, and the only dispute was concerning their origin; while in America the great mass of the people deny the reality of the alleged miracles, and it is only a few men of the closet who attribute them to demoniacal influence. We ask for no different sign from that which the mediums profess to give; we only ask to have a real thing, and not an imposition. A friend of ours, having firm faith in spiritual manifestations, and desirous of converting us to the like belief, has, nevertheless, had in his possession for many weeks a sealed envelope containing one sentence of ten English words, plainly printed with a pen, which as yet he has found no one able to read without breaking the seal. How, then, can we have any faith in the clairvoyance of mediums?

With regard to the alleged power to move material bodies without contact, we have as yet been unable to obtain satisfactory proof of its reality. Whenever we have been allowed to cross-examine thoroughly the wit-

nesses, the seeming miracle has disappeared, taking either the form of self-deception, as in the case of those whose palms are naturally moist, and adhere, like a fly's foot, to a polished table; or else the form of jugglery or sleight of hand. Men of unquestionable character and good sense have told us that they have actually seen or felt these movements without hands, — tables floating in the air, tomahawks striking upon tables, rappings without a mechanical cause, watches opened and shut, pencils writing when untouched by mortal hands, and other marvels of a like character; and yet, upon a closer cross-examination, or upon hearing the testimony of other equally intelligent witnesses of the same things, we have been forced to believe that these were cases of wilful deception on the part of the mediums, sufficiently skilful to deceive even those who were expressly seeking to detect it. We have known one case where an inquirer, although detecting, beyond all controversy, a wilful deception on the part of a medium, has yet been convinced of the reality of another performance of the same medium on the same evening.

Six months ago we considered it highly probable that there was an unknown force producing raps and movements; but having within that time been forced by the most incontrovertible evidence to believe seven well-known public mediums to be impostors, and having had doubts thrown upon the integrity of several others, we have been obliged to return to our original state of scepticism, so far as regards any unusual physical power. The best attested of all the phenomena of spiritualism are those of trance, unconscious speech, and unconscious writing; and these are so manifestly the effects of nervous disease, as to make them unfit subjects for investigation, prompted simply by idle curiosity. It is true that these subjects afford an interesting field for scientific investigation. Those who have the opportunity, taste, and ability for such studies owe it to themselves and to the world to investigate the matter. Nay, our duty towards God requires us to investigate all the provinces of his truth. But we must remember that in certain subjects where it is a duty to observe phenomena, it is nevertheless a sin to experiment. The effects of intoxicating agents, such as alcohol, ether, hemp, opium, and

fungi, afford a great many wonderful phenomena for investigation, some of them as wonderful as those of spirit-rapping. But it surely would be wrong to intoxicate either one's self or another person for the sake of making the investigation. Interesting as the accounts of Bayard Taylor are, we cannot but feel our respect for him somewhat diminished as we read of his experiments in chewing hemp and smoking opium. In like manner, the wonderful phenomena of mediumship and clairvoyance are well worthy of study. But as revealed religion forbids us to inquire of a medium or clairvoyant concerning the future or the spirit-world, so humanity seems to us to forbid our inquiry of real mediums for the sake of investigating the phenomena. It is putting a fellow-creature into an unnatural and unhealthy state for the gratification of our curiosity. It seems to us very analogous to giving him ether or opium for the mere sake of watching its effects upon him.

Our own knowledge of spirit-rapping has therefore been drawn from the books and newspapers published by believers in it, and from cross-examining intelligent friends who had not been prevented by religious and humane scruples from personal investigation. Justice to ourselves demands that we should add, that we had never read anything upon the subject written by unbelievers in it, until this article was nearly finished. It was out of its own mouth that we had heard its condemnation.

Passing by the physical manifestations as comparatively unimportant, since the testimony concerning them is not satisfactory to all investigators, — granting, if you please, the truth of the most extravagant statements of physical power, — the intellectual and moral phenomena are to our mind decisive. The believer asks us how to account for these things, if it be not an intercourse with the dead. We ask in return, How will you account for them on the supposition that it is? Recollect that you must account, not only for the phenomena of the present day, but for those of past ages also. As the Swiss geologists build their masterly demonstration of their glacial theory upon the continuity and identity of present glacial action with the more extended appearances of the erratic drift in Switzerland, so the continuity

and identity of spirit-rapping with mesmerism, witchcraft, magic, oracles, and possession in past ages, obvious to every attentive reader, shows an identity of cause. It is absurd to give an explanation to the present phenomena which will not explain the past. "This conclusion," to use the words of Guyot, "does not rest upon any hypothesis whatever, nor upon a scaffolding constructed by the imagination, but upon the identity and continuity of two groups of facts."

The causes that produce the present phenomena must have produced those of the past; and how can any believer in intercourse with the dead believe that the spirits of the departed would have produced the frightful effects of possession and of epidemic monomanias? Surely if we are obliged to resort to the spirit-world for explanation of the marvels of "possession," we must, with the Catholic Church, and with our Puritan forefathers, refer them to the Evil One, or to the spirits of the damned. Our historical argument, to show the identity of the present manifestations with those of the Old Testament, should have weight, therefore, not only in the minds of those who acknowledge the authority of Moses, but convince every rational and intelligent man that we cannot believe in the spirit intercourse of to-day, unless we are prepared also to attribute many of the most frightful evils that have afflicted our race to the intervention of the spirits of deceased men.

But to confine ourselves to the present manifestations. The admission of spiritual agency is the admission of a cause that ought to account for every case. If, at a single interview with a medium, we have a series of interviews with self-styled spirits of the dead, and if we can detect during that time no difference in the manner or in the tones of the medium, then it appears to us highly absurd to say that the intercourse with some of these spirits was real, while we acknowledge that that with others was unreal. If an intellectual or moral test can demonstrate the falsehood of one communication, it renders it very difficult for us to believe in the reality of the rest. At all events, it absolutely demonstrates the fallibility and untrustworthiness of this mode of intercourse.

And yet every intelligent friend who has consulted mediums assures us that cases of failure are with them as frequent as cases of success. However difficult, and even impossible, it is, therefore, to account for the apparently successful cases, we cannot admit the explanation of spiritual agency, because that leaves the cases of failure still more wonderful and inexplicable than the cases of success.

A friend of ours, who has spent a great deal of time in investigating this matter, and who seems half inclined to admit the reality of spiritual intercourse, but on whose truthfulness we can place the most implicit reliance, was holding a pleasant interview with the spirit of Dr. Bowditch, when it occurred to him to consult the shade of the great mathematician on a few simple mathematical problems. The spirit readily undertook the solution and gave the answers; but, unfortunately, the answers were not correct. Our friend then requested the spirit to explain his processes, and the shade willingly complied; but blundered as greatly in the explanation as he had in the results. The Doctor was then asked, "How much longer is the circumference of a circle than its diameter?" and replied, that it was rather more than four times as long; and insisted upon the correctness of his number.

Now this cannot be explained on the supposition of a real intercourse with spirits, for no spirit can be so ignorant as to return such a reply. Much less can we suppose that it was an interview with the great mathematician himself, unless we admit that the saints in heaven are subject to paralytic strokes, and loss of memory. The Christian character of Dr. Bowditch is as unquestionable as his mathematical power, and has the spirit of such a man suffered such a loss? It is absolutely incredible.

How, then, on the hypothesis of there being any real intercourse, can we account for this unreal and deceptive intercourse? Only, it appears to us, by the silliest philosophizing, or else by the most ingenious shuffling. Plutarch would show why the Pythia's verse, though inspired by Apollo, sometimes limped; and other writers of the ancient times would show why the oracles sometimes were unintelligible, and sometimes false;

and their explanations are quite as plausible, quite as satisfactory, as the explanations of a modern disconcerted medium. We have never heard of a rational and honest way by which the believer in spirit-communications can account for the frequent instances in which the so-called spirits give false and absurd replies.

When, therefore, a believer asks us how to explain cases of success, we answer, that we do not know how, — but we know that the hypothesis of spiritual agency is excluded by the numerous cases of failure. We ask, How can you account for these? How will you account for it that A. J. Davis, in his spiritual journey to the planets, made the same error as Leverrier, in implying that Neptune is thirty-six, instead of twenty-nine, hundred millions of miles from the sun? How will you account for it that he only found four asteroids between Mars and Jupiter, while the telescope has found forty? Have those thirty-six planets been created, as well as discovered, since his journey? How came Davis to make blunders in regard to the Scriptures, as palpable as these are in regard to astronomy? How comes it that, while Dr. Channing was in the flesh, his word delighted all nations, and that now he talks mere school-girl sentimentality? How is it that Dr. Bowditch in the flesh could translate and enlarge Laplace's master-work, and that now he blunders and stumbles over the simplest mathematical questions. How comes it that Swedenborg, and Bacon, and Daniel Webster, whose great words, as we commune with them from the printed page, the true medium of communication with the spirits of the past, stir our souls to their very depths, will, in their communications through Judge Edmonds and Dr. Dexter, give us such weary stuff, that not even the extravagant encomiums of Senator Tallmadge upon it can induce us to read it more than a second time? How does it happen, that, in all the voluminous communications made through the best mediums, there is so little really valuable thought, — that we have continually presented a mere reflection of the religious notions of the popular literature of the day, taking either a religious or an infidel direction, according to the atmosphere in which the medium has passed the most of his time?

If we must believe that this spiritual intercourse really

takes place, then we must either believe that all the spirits of the mighty dead undergo a vast deterioration in the spirit-world, or else we must say that the modes of communication are so untrustworthy as to be wholly worthless. It is not at all rational to suppose that the spirits of the dead deteriorate so rapidly that the ghost of Dr. Bowditch now knows less of mathematics than a schoolboy; far more rational to say that the modern mode of communicating with him is a delusion. For our part, we should sooner distrust the testimony of our own senses, than believe that Bowditch has lost his mathematical power, Channing his spiritual insight, Bacon his broad sweep of intellectual vision, and Webster his resistless logic, as these modern witches of Endor represent them to have done. Nay, if we saw the wonders with our own eyes, and had fullest confidence in the soundness of our vision, it would not convince us of the spiritual theory, or at least would not convince us that the spirits engaged in the work were the souls of good men.* All the marvels that are told us of tables dancing, violins played without hands, and even of distant events being minutely described as though by second-sight, seem to us less marvellous than such a sad loss of intellectual power in the spirits of just men made perfect. We cannot, therefore, but feel that good judgment and sound reason would compel us, even if we did not believe in the reality of that revelation on Sinai which has shed its wide and beneficent influence

* The Romanist theory, as given by Brownson, is very ingenious. According to him, belief in the Devil is an essential doctrine of Christianity; if there were no Devil, there would be no need of a Saviour. But one of the wiles of the Devil is to persuade us of his non-existence, so that we shall not apply to the Redeemer. Therefore, from time to time, God permits Satan to manifest himself in such ways as to convince us of his existence; it is for this reason God suffers him now to personate the spirits of the dead, and to produce so many pseudo-miracles; Satan endeavoring to make us believe in spirit-intercourse, but God intending that we should detect the cheat, and believe in Satan.

In our case, both intentions have been frustrated; Satan has certainly not deluded us into a belief in spirit-intercourse; and the communications from the spirit-world are not intellectual enough to make us think that Satan had any hand in them. It has been objected to Brownson's Spirit-Rapper, and may be to this article, that it rakes up too many old stories. But how can we learn from history, if we will not read history? Robert Calef justly says, that to forget the delusions of the past would be to give the Devil the opportunity "to set the same on foot again, so dragging us through the pond twice by the same cat."

over all human history for more than three thousand years, to admit that the prohibition by Moses is at all events a reasonable and judicious command; that the unceasing warfare which that Mosaic religion has waged against those who think themselves mediums of spirits is a just war, and that all sound-minded men should refuse to consult mediums and seek after clairvoyants. In all ages and in all countries, even in heathen lands, and in Christendom when the belief in witchcraft was most prevalent, there have been a few of the highest and best minds—a Plato, a Sophocles, a Cicero—to protest against the delusion, and to declare that the inspiration of reason which is common to humanity is a vastly higher gift and a more trustworthy guide than the voice of oracles and soothsayers. These constitute a company of which a Christian man need not be ashamed, while he sees the world going astray after modern Pythias at modern Delphis; and when he is pressed by strange claims and still stranger testimony, he may answer with the Prophet: “Should not a people trust in their God, in the guidance of his Holy Spirit? Should they call upon the dead to aid the living?”

The later and higher revelation which was given to us through Christ our Lord also forbids us to explain the mysterious and difficult phenomena of the present epidemic by referring them to an actual intercourse with spirits. For the doctrines professedly revealed by a majority of the spirits whose words we have seen quoted, are at open war with the New Testament, and are congenial only with the views of Christ held by the ultra-rationalistic schools.

As we have watched the rise of this new epidemic for years past, we have trusted that it might be confined to the limestone regions in which it began, and to the cities, where artificial habits induce disease; we had hoped it would not strike in among the granite hills of New England, and that the Salem witchcraft might long remain the last visit of such an epidemic to our State. But our hope has not been realized, and the visitation has come. What are the remedies to be applied we do not know. In previous visitations in Europe, nothing but Time has wrought a cure. We may, at all events, be thankful that the present epidemic

is so much milder in its form than those which have preceded it; and will hope that it may never develop any of the worse features that made the visitations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries so terrible.

No remedy is known; those who have become thoroughly imbued with any of these hallucinations cannot be convinced by reasonings, and will not recover except by the healthy reaction of their own minds. But there is a mode of prevention simple and easy, and that is to obey the injunction of Moses, utterly to avoid the mediums, leave the investigation of the phenomena to scientific men, and steadily resist the superstitious tendency which makes us inclined to pry into the secrets of the future life, into the secret things that belong to the Lord our God alone. The things that are revealed are enough for us to know; happy is he who is willing to be content with them.

The disease is, we repeat it, without remedy, and no human eye can foresee how far it may rage. But the Almighty Hand that rules over all events will not suffer it to pass its bounds. Doubtless it has its uses; and as the fiercer forms of bodily disease are, in the course of God's holy providence, teachers of the laws of health, and also lead men to sympathy, to benevolence, and to other moral good; so these mysterious phenomena accompanying and producing the monomania of spirit-rapping will, in that same providence, doubtless eventually lead men, not only to a better understanding of the laws of matter and mind, but to a deeper faith in things truly spiritual, to a firmer conviction that man has a soul of mysterious and indefinite powers, of unutterable longing, — a nature that cannot permanently be satisfied with a senseless materialism, limiting its vision within the boundaries of sense, nor with a pseudo-spiritualism of awkward machinery and delusive responses, but which will never be satisfied except with that Bread that came down from heaven, of which if a man eat he shall live for ever, — live in communion with the Father and with the Son while in the flesh, and so soon as he leaves this body live among the glorious company of those who have been redeemed by the Son of God, and sanctified by that Holy Spirit which he sends upon us from the Father.

ART. IV.—PRESIDENT LORD'S DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.*

THE pamphlets whose titles are given below are examples of a new sort of literature. Until within a few years it would have been hard to find a Protestant clergyman, either at the North or the South, willing to defend the system of American Slavery on grounds either of justice or of expediency. Almost every one then conceded that in the abstract it was wrong; almost every one granted that in the long run its practical effects on the community were bad. It was usually admitted that the Gospel of Christ, who came to preach deliverance to the captives, and who told men to do as they would be done by, is radically opposed to slavery. These views were entertained at the close of the Revolution by most of the great statesmen, at the North and South, who founded our republic. Such men as Jefferson, Madison, and Patrick Henry, though not prepared to abolish slavery where it existed, admitted its inconsistency with the principles of our republic, confessed it to be a great social and moral evil, and showed their sincerity by uniting with the North to exclude it by positive law from all the new territory northwest of the Ohio.

This being the public sentiment among statesmen, it is not extraordinary that a like opinion prevailed among Christian sects and Christian theologians. The opinion of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was publicly declared by its highest authority in 1818. It adopted with unanimity a declaration drawn up by Dr. Ashbel Green, then President of the College at Princeton. We give the following extract, premising that Dr. Green was a conservative man, of unquestioned orthodoxy, and that the Presbyterian Church was a conservative body, by no means celebrated for any zeal for reforms, and therefore well representing the conservative view at that time in the Christian Church on this subject.

* 1. *A Letter of Inquiry to Ministers of the Gospel, of all Denominations, on Slavery.* By a Northern Presbyterian. Boston: Fessenden & Co. 1854. pp. 32.

2. *A Northern Presbyterian's Second Letter, &c.* By NATHAN LORD, President of Dartmouth College. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1855. pp. 99.

We may be quite sure that Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Friends would at that time have gone at least as far as this in opposition to slavery.*

"The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, having taken into consideration the subject of **SLAVERY**, think proper to make known their sentiments upon it to the churches and people under their care.

"We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves; and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ, which enjoin that 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system; it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings in such circumstances as scarcely to leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependent on the will of others, whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the Gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and cherish the endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity, or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery,—consequences not imaginary, but which connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is *always* exposed often take place in fact, and in their very worst degree and form; and where all of them do not take place,—as we rejoice to say that in many instances, through the influence of the principles of humanity and religion on the minds of masters, they do not,—still the slave is deprived of his natural right, degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest.

"From this view of the consequences resulting from the practice into which Christian people have most inconsistently fallen, of enslaving a portion of their brethren of mankind,—for 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth,'—it is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day, when the inconsistency of slavery both with the dictates of humanity and religion has

* See "The New-Englander" for November, 1854, p. 635.

been demonstrated, and is generally seen and acknowledged, to use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible throughout the world."

This being the doctrine in 1818 of such a conservative sect, it is a natural and reasonable inference that it was the prevailing sentiment at that time in other Christian denominations. That it was so is admitted by those who now hold the opposite opinion.* But within a few years a great change has taken place, first in the opinions of Southern statesmen, secondly in the opinions of Southern theologians, and lastly among some theologians at the North. Mr. Calhoun led the way in this new direction, and may be considered as the founder of the new theology concerning slavery. He first assumed the position that slavery was not bad, but good; not wrong, but right; not injurious, but beneficial. A man of great logical acumen, and far removed from the race of compromisers, he believed, with Shakespeare, that "Yes and No are not good theology." The immense expansion in the United States of the culture of cotton had produced an increased demand for slave labor, making slavery so profitable that the difficulty of abolishing it, even by a gradual process, was greatly increased. It seemed to Mr. Calhoun a mental absurdity to admit that slavery was a wrong and an evil, and at the same time to persist in maintaining it. If it was wrong, it should be given up; but if it was not to be given up, it should be defended. This was Mr. Calhoun's view, because he was a man of logic. And the whole South followed him in this view, as men will always follow a leader who has the courage to push their secret principles of conduct to their manifest results. The Southern churches followed the statesman to his new conclusions; the Southern divines followed their churches; and now we have Northern theologians who follow their Southern brethren to the same results. Slavery is now also defended at the North, as right and beautiful in itself;

* See, in proof, the quotations in *The New-England* for November, 1854, Article VIII., — "The Southern Apostasy."

and we have a *national* theology as well as a national policy. And before long, those of us who still hold the old-fashioned doctrine of Jefferson and Madison, of Washington and Franklin, of the Presbyterian Church in 1818, of Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Hopkins, and John Wesley, may perhaps be stigmatized as holding a *sectional* theology.*

Conspicuous among these doctors, both by the influence of his position and the courageous frankness of his statements, is Dr. Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth College. In his first "Letter of Inquiry to Ministers of the Gospel, of all Denominations," he gives his views under the form of questions. In the "Second Letter to Ministers of the Gospel, of all Denominations," he proposes to justify what he has before written, and to substantiate by additional reasonings his original positions. There are evidently three ways in which slavery may be defended by those who feel themselves called to that work. There is, first, the ground of **ABSTRACT ETHICS**; by which they may endeavor to show that slavery is in itself right, in sight of absolute reason. Secondly, it may be defended on the ground of **EXPERIENCY**, as an institution which in practice works well. And, in the third place, it may be defended **SCRIPTURALLY**, by proofs taken from the Old and New Testaments. President Lord has selected the first line of

* In proof of the views formerly held at the South, and of the change there, see the following extract from an editorial in the *Richmond Enquirer*, July 3, 1856: "Before Abolitionism began its offensive operations, the South was not at all satisfied of the moral or social sanction of negro slavery. The truth is, our forefathers of the last generation, so far from justifying and defending the institution on its own merits, disclaimed any responsibility for its origin, apologized for its existence on the plea of inability to abolish it, and protested their desire to discover some safe and sufficient remedy for the imaginary evil. Now, all thinking men in the South are persuaded that slavery is the normal condition of the negro; that it is justified by the sanction of God's revealed as well as natural law; that it is an instrument of Providence in working out the material and moral development of civilization; and that it is a wise, salutary, and beneficent institution of Christian society. The consequence of these pervading and profound convictions throughout the South is a universal and earnest determination to protect the legal guaranties of slavery, to strengthen its basis, defend it against attack, and multiply its securities, until, having accomplished its appointed destiny, it shall be replaced by some other agency of progress and development. The period of its natural dissolution will be foreshadowed by unmistakable signs of decay, and the South will no more presume to resist the obvious decree of Providence, than they now think of acquiescing in the impious schemes of men who would usurp the function of Providence."

argument; Dr. Nehemiah Adams has distinguished himself by his enthusiastic labors in the second field of inquiry; and an innumerable company of divines have defended this institution by proofs taken from the Scriptures. It is with the argument in the abstract, as set forth by President Lord, that we now have to do.

The substance of the propositions in President Lord's first letter is as follows: *—

PROP. I. Ministers of the Gospel ought to consider the question of slavery, from its origin and foundations, as a question of divine right, rather than of prudence, policy, or economy.

PROP. II. Slavery is an institution of God, according to natural religion.

PROP. III. Slavery is also a positive institution of *revealed religion*.

PROP. IV. Slavery is not opposed to the specific law of love, which requires us to do to others as we would they should do to us.

PROP. V. The wide-spread humanitarian philosophy, which pronounces slavery to be essentially wrong, is a great heresy, and tends to alarming consequences.

PROP. VI. Slavery in itself, apart from its abuses, is a wholesome institution, adapted to educate the race of Ham, and an institution which may very profitably be extended.

PROP. VII. The Nebraska Bill of Mr. Douglas ought not to be objected to, inasmuch as it allows slavery to extend itself, and so prevents a dangerous local overgrowth of slaves.

PROP. VIII. Christians ought not to encourage anti-slavery views.

PROP. IX. Christians, instead of opposing slavery, ought to oppose anti-slavery men and measures.

PROP. X. The abuses of slavery have prevented people from seeing its uses and its beauty.

PROP. XI. Dr. Lord hopes that his brethren will forgive him for frankly saying that he believes slavery (in itself) not a moral evil nor a political evil, but an ordi-

* Dr. Lord, in his first letter, modestly puts these propositions in the form of questions. But since, in his second letter, he defends them as propositions which he accepts, we put them in this form, for the sake of convenience.

nance of the God of nature and revelation ; and for saying that he would himself own or hire slaves, if it were convenient or necessary.

We have given this statement of Dr. Lord's opinions, mostly in his own words and his own order, lest our readers should think that we had misrepresented or exaggerated them.

But any exaggeration would be impossible, for no man is or can be more of a pro-slavery man than Dr. Lord. He does not merely excuse slavery, he defends it ; he does not merely defend it, he justifies it ; he does not merely justify it, he admires and loves it. It is a part of his religion, a part of his Christianity. Has any one distinguished himself as the champion of this institution ? — Dr. Lord has done more for it than he. Did Mr. Calhoun defend it as right ? — Dr. Lord worships it as divine. Did John Mitchel desire for himself a plantation and a gang of negroes in Alabama ? — Dr. Lord even on the granite hills of New England yearns to "hold slaves in his own right, or to hire their service of their proper masters," and declares that he could do this "without conscientious scruples or misgivings, and with gratitude to God." Did Senator Douglas denounce the ministers of New England who opposed the "Nebraska Bill" as going out of their sphere ? — Dr. Lord also thinks it necessary to suggest that they did wrong in their opposition to it, and that they had better have let it alone. Indeed, we cannot see, according to the principles laid down by our learned President, why the SLAVE-TRADE is not also a divine institution. For if the perfections of God absolutely require slavery, if his justice and goodness require it, if it is a positive institution of Christianity, if Africans (as descended from Ham) are ordained to be slaves, then the means necessary for maintaining this blessed institution are also necessary. But without the slave-trade we could never have had slavery in this country, and God's providential design would have been defeated ; hence the slave-trade was right. Moreover, as men are usually so blind to their own good as not to offer themselves voluntarily to become slaves, and as in their unchristian love of freedom they even resist being made slaves, it is evident that without kidnapping and warfare this divine institution

could not have been established ; hence kidnapping and the bloody wars of Africa are highly to be approved.

But we must go still further. The President of Dartmouth College believes that slavery is the direct result of the curse pronounced by God upon Ham and his posterity, and that the negroes are the descendants of Ham. He asserts that by the law of Moses God "not only *suffered*, but also *required*, the buying and selling of slaves," and that "Christians in all periods have justified the curse of the guilty Ham and his degraded race." Does it not follow from this that *all* negroes should be slaves ? For if, as Dr. Lord maintains, they are descended from Ham, and if God's law has declared that the descendants of Ham are to be slaves, what right have we to say that any of them shall be free ? According to Dr. Lord, therefore, it is our evident duty to *re-enslave* all the free colored people.

Dr. Lord's argument, however, carries us still further. He declares that slavery is a *positive institution of revealed religion*. It is, then, like Baptism and the Lord's Supper, something in which all Christians are bound to participate. Then we ought, all of us, to be slaveholders, and every man who is not a slaveholder is neglecting a Christian duty. Dr. Lord, indeed, declares that *he* "would own slaves, if necessity or convenience should require." But is this enough ? Ought he not to *take pains* to be a slaveholder ? Ought he not to make direct efforts to introduce this divine institution into New Hampshire ? Is a positive institution of religion to be established or abolished according to men's notions of convenience ? Dr. Lord has addressed some questions to his brother ministers. Might it not be well for him to consider these questions himself ?

But we must look a little more strictly at the argument of our Dartmouth President. For when the head of one of our chief New England colleges, to whose care our sons are committed, publishes his deliberate opinions on such a great subject, they surely deserve to be seriously examined. His views may seem to us inconsistent with the plainest principles of natural justice and Christian duty ; they may seem to us as superficial and conceited, as in his view are those of his opponents. Nevertheless, they ought to be seriously examined. And we shall endeavor so to fulfil this duty.

Before we ask whether slavery is right or wrong, we ought to ask, What is slavery? A definition of slavery ought to precede its discussion. Dr. Lord gives a definition on page 11 of Letter First, namely, "the buying and selling of men as property." He then adds another definition, namely, "the having of a civil right [*sic*] not to their souls, which is an absurdity, and belongs not to any natural or scriptural idea of the institution, but to their services, for the mere support and care of them without wages." But Dr. Lord's two definitions are inconsistent with each other. If I *own* a man, if he is my property, then I also claim a right over his soul. I cannot really own his soul, but I claim to do so by claiming an absolute authority over his conscience and his will, over his reason and his heart. If I assert that he is my property, then I declare that it is for me to say what he shall know and what he shall not know; whether he shall be able to read God's word, or not; whether he shall have an opportunity to hear Christ preached, or not. I am his conscience; he must have no higher law than my will, else he is not my slave. His duties are all dependent upon my will; his duties as a Christian, as a husband and father, as a member of society, are all subordinate to his duty to me. He cannot go to church, or read his Bible, or keep the Lord's day holy, or fulfil his duties to his family, if I forbid it, — otherwise he is not a slave. If I say to him, "Quit your wife, and take another, — Steal, — Lie, — Commit highway robbery for my benefit," — he must do it. If he says, "Master, that is wrong, I cannot do it," he instantly ceases to be a slave, for he assumes the right of deciding for himself when to serve me, and when not. If he can decide in one case, he can decide in other cases, and my absolute authority is gone. Henceforth when I give an order, I must virtually say, "Do this, provided you think it right." But that is not slavery.

Slavery is absolute, unconditional, indefinite servitude. This distinguishes a slave from a servant. A servant is bound to definite, limited, and conditional service. The conditions may be fixed by the parties themselves, as in the case of hired labor, or by another authority, for example, that of the state, as in the case of serfdom. A *slave* is bound to render unlimited service, and to receive

passively such treatment as the master chooses. *A serf* is bound to render limited service, and receive treatment limited by the law of the state. *A servant* is bound to render such limited service, and to receive therefor such treatment and compensation, as is agreed upon between himself and his employer. The distinction is obvious and essential.

It is not, then, an improper use of language to say that the slave belongs to his master, body and soul. The master has absolute authority over the soul of the slave, in all its faculties of reason, affection, conscience, and will. To deny this is to change slavery into something else. To deny it is to speak, not of American slavery, but of some other kind of service.

Unquestionably, the state reserves to itself the right of punishing any breach of the peace or criminal assault by the master on the person of the slave. In most of the Slave States the laws punish excessive cruelty, or murderous assaults committed against the slave by the master. But these provisions are practically nullified in various ways. First, the right of self-defence is taken from the slave. No matter what outrage is offered to him by a white man, it is a grave crime to make any resistance. His master, in a fit of rage or drunken madness, may be about to murder him, but he must not lift his hand in self-defence. Secondly, as the testimony of a colored man is not taken in the courts of the Slave States, it would be usually very difficult to prove any offence committed by a white man against a slave. And lastly, the execution of the laws being completely in the hands of the whites, it will seldom happen that they will punish each other for injuries done to a slave. We do not wonder, therefore, that in 1816 a grand jury of South Carolina declared, in their official presentment, that "instances of negro homicide were common, and that the murderers were allowed to continue in the full exercise of their powers as masters and mistresses." Only last year Governor Adams of that State, in his annual message, declared "that the administration of the laws, in relation to the colored population, by the Courts of Magistrates and Freeholders, called loudly for reform." "Their decisions," said he, "are rarely in accordance with justice or humanity." A Creole planter

in Louisiana told Mr. Olmstead, that, though the law of Louisiana required that negroes should not be worked on Sunday, yet that there was not a planter within sight of him in any direction who did not work his negroes. Practically, therefore, in this country the master's authority over his slaves is *unlimited*.

Let us now proceed to examine the propositions of President Lord in their order.

He declares slavery to be a divine institution, according to natural religion. His proof seems to be, that men, being generally wicked, need to be restrained; and that slavery is as necessary for some races, to restrain them from greater wickedness, as imprisonment is for some individuals. Slavery, therefore, like imprisonment, is a truly reformatory institution, and better for the world than would be the absence of it. He calls it "a wholesome ordinance on the whole for the punishing and restraining of vice, and the encouragement of virtue." He further illustrates his view by asking if it would not "be a reflection upon the character of God to conclude otherwise, just as it would be to conclude that sickness, pain, and death, or frosts, mildews, earthquakes, and volcanoes, are not naturally parts of God's comprehensive, righteous, and benevolent administration of a disordered system?"

According to these illustrations, we infer that Dr. Lord considers slavery a divine institution, in the same way that imprisonment on the one hand, and sickness or volcanoes on the other, are divine institutions. But why does he not add to the list murder, robbery, and falsehood, and say that these exist by divine permission, and, since God permits them to exist, there is no doubt a good reason for their existence? Sickness, he says, is a divine institution. But we do our best to prevent and to remove sickness. We wish to rid ourselves of disease, not merely in its excess, but also in its normal condition; in its use, no less than in its abuse. According to his argument, Dr. Lord, while disliking fevers and consumptions as they are, should feel an unfeigned admiration for them as they ought to be. He should consider that cholera is "a necessary ordinance of God," which should "not be assailed or violently broken down, but merely pruned of its extravagances." Just as he pious-

ly longs to hold slaves "in his own right," he should ardently desire a fit of the toothache, or a few twinges of the gout. And he should speak as strenuously in condemnation of those who try to cure all diseases, as he does of those who are attempting to break every yoke. He censures severely "those who make a trade of philanthropy, and live by it," "practising upon the public sympathies" by seeking to overthrow this divine institution of slavery. Ought he not to condemn with equal sharpness the whole medical profession, which is seeking to overthrow the divine institution of disease, and the whole clerical profession, which is seeking to overthrow the divine institution of human wickedness? These two classes also "practise on the public sympathies." *They* also "make a trade of philanthropy," and a trade of religion, "and live by it."

President Lord compares the enslavement of a race with the imprisonment of an individual. He argues, that, as wicked men need to be restrained by imprisonment, so wicked races need to be enslaved. But to make this analogy hold, Dr. Lord must prove,—*first*, that enslaved races are usually more wicked than those who enslave them; *secondly*, that they have a fair trial, and a chance to prove their innocence, before they are enslaved; and *thirdly*, that, when they have served out their proper term, they are to be set free. We think it would be difficult to prove either of these positions. There is no evidence that the enslaved nations and races of ancient or modern times have been any worse than their enslavers. There is no evidence that they have been enslaved in consequence of their wickedness. Ignorance and weakness, and not any special criminality, have been the causes of slavery. And their slavery has come to an end, not when they have grown better, but when they have grown stronger and more intelligent. The moral qualities of the enslaved races have often been superior to those of their masters. The Jewish slaves were certainly no worse than their Egyptian lords; the Greek and Roman slaves were far less cruel than their masters; the Saxon slaves were a better race than the Norman slaveholders; and such observers as Channing and Kinmont regard the African races supe-

rior, in their religious and moral organization, to that of the whites, while inferior in energy and intellect.

In order to prove slavery to be a divine institution, according to natural religion, it is not enough to show that it has done some good. There is no institution so evil but that it is attended with good. Every form of superstition and idolatry has done some good. They have all been the means of developing the religious sentiment. War has done good, — it has developed courage, powers of endurance, and powers of self-sacrifice in the minds of nations. Despotism has done good by restraining anarchy; but is despotism therefore a divine institution? By such a course of argument, in his haste to justify slavery, the President of Dartmouth College would justify every kind of evil which has existed in the world. Yes, he would justify sin itself, since where sin abounds grace has yet more abounded. Exceedingly shallow, and quite unworthy the head of a New England college, is the logic which assumes, in the first place, that the enslaved races have been more wicked than their enslavers, and next assumes that slavery has prevented them from growing worse; and then infers from this assumption that because good has come from the institution, therefore it is a part of natural religion. When Silvio Pellico was imprisoned by the tyranny of Austria in 1820, and was kept in prison ten years, he derived from it an immense benefit, for which he might well have thanked the Divine Providence. But does it follow that his imprisonment was any the less unjust or cruel?

That slavery is ever better for the human race than freedom, that a man is ever made better by being made a slave, that the system which deprives a man of every right, turns him into a thing, makes his marriage a mere form, makes all his domestic relations insecure, — that *this relation makes him better*, is asserted by Dr. Lord, but denied by every great philosopher and moralist from the days of Homer to the present hour. Homer declares that "the day which makes a man a slave takes half his worth away," and every great subsequent moralist has echoed the poet's assertion.

Dr. Lord asserts slavery to be also a positive institution of revealed religion. He derives it from the curse

of Noah upon his son Ham and his posterity, — from the slaveholding of the Patriarchs, — from the Mosaic economy, — from the New Testament, — and from the opinions and practices of Christians. On each of these points we would say a few words.

In order to prove from the curse of Ham that slavery is a positive institution of revealed religion, it would be necessary to show, — 1st, that Noah had divine authority for pronouncing the curse; 2d, that that curse was slavery; and 3d, that this slavery was intended to be hereditary, and not merely the punishment of the individual. But Dr. Lord does not prove either of these three positions. There is not the least evidence that Noah spoke by any divine authority. He had just come out of a fit of drunkenness, which apparently still lingered about him; for instead of cursing Ham, who had been guilty of a disrespectful action, he cursed Canaan, one of Ham's four sons. Nor does it appear that this curse was fulfilled, but God showed apparently his disapproval of it by fulfilling the opposite. For Ham is supposed to have dwelt in Egypt, and instead of the Egyptians becoming the slaves of the Israelites, the Israelites became the slaves of the Egyptians. And instead of God interfering to establish slavery, we all know how he interfered to abolish slavery. Is it not curious that Dr. Lord should pass by the great fact of emancipation, in which the Supreme Being established abolition on the largest scale as a positive institution, — that he should pass by this and insist on half a dozen words spoken by Noah in a fit of drunkenness. For if the Old Testament is the word of God, then by the miraculous deliverance of the Israelites God has established immediate emancipation as a positive institution of revealed religion.

But all this Dr. Lord evades. You would suppose he had never heard of such a thing as the Exodus. But on the curse of Ham (about which, however, nothing is said in the Old Testament) he dwells earnestly. Also, either by the aid of Mr. Layard, or by other means unknown to the rest of the world, he has found some antediluvian marriage records, and learned (what the Bible omits to mention) that Ham intermarried with the race of Cain. This supposed marriage of Ham he

believes to be a good reason for the hereditary slavery of the negroes; although Canaan (on whom the curse was really pronounced) was not the ancestor of the negroes, but of the inhabitants of Syria.

That the Patriarchs held slaves may be true, but it is also true that they had several wives, and among them their own sisters. To justify slavery, therefore, by the practice of the Patriarchs, may lead to consequences which even Dr. Lord will not relish.

Dr. Lord asserts that Moses not only *allowed* the Israelites to buy and sell slaves, but *required* them to do so. We believe that this is another discovery of Dr. Lord's, and it carries us a great way. For if it proves slavery to be right at the present time, it proves it also to be a duty. In that case it follows that we are as much bound to own slaves in New England, as we are bound to keep the Lord's day. In asserting that Moses *required* the Jews to buy and sell slaves, Dr. Lord probably refers to Leviticus xxv. 44-46. In this passage Moses directs the Jews not to buy and sell their own brethren, but when they want slaves, to buy from among the heathen. He uses this language: "Thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have shall be of the heathen round about you; of them shalt ye buy bondmen and bondmaids." By making this word *shall* imperative, Dr. Lord turns it into an absolute command, and thus asserts that slaveholding was a moral duty under the Mosaic dispensation. The Pharisees reasoned precisely in the same way concerning the law of divorce. Moses had said, Deut. xxiv. 1, that when a man hath married a wife, "and she find no favor in his eyes, then let him write her a bill of divorcement." The Pharisees saw fit to consider this word *let* an absolute command, just as Dr. Lord considers the word *shall* an absolute command; and when Jesus forbade divorce, they said, "Why did Moses then *COMMAND* to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?" Jesus replied, "It was because of the hardness of their hearts that Moses *suffered* them to put away their wives, but from the beginning it was not so." In the same way common sense and humanity would desire to interpret the other passage; but Dr. Lord refuses to believe that slavery was merely suffered for the hardness of their

hearts. And yet we do not see why he should desire any larger liberty or ampler permission than this. For when a Christian minister and teacher of youth living in New England, surrounded by the blessings of freedom, volunteers to defend slavery as right in itself, and declares himself ready to own slaves, "if necessity or convenience should require," he would certainly seem to be sufficiently excused if he can show that men are allowed to own slaves, provided they have an adequate "hardness of heart."

As a matter of course, Dr. Lord thinks it a great proof that slavery is a positive institution of revealed religion, that neither Jesus nor his Apostles abrogated it in distinct terms. Nor did they abrogate in distinct terms paganism, despotism, polygamy, or war, all of which existed in the world around them; hence, according to the logic of Dr. Lord, these are positive institutions of revealed religion. But Christ taught as the second great commandment of the law, that we are to love our neighbor as ourselves. If, therefore, Dr. Lord would not be willing to be a slave himself, or to have his wife and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other people or other peoples' wives and daughters slaves. But this course of reasoning, though sufficiently simple, is beyond his comprehension. His reply is, that the law of love "does not require the overthrow of all established orders and distinctions." Because the law of love does not require that we should abolish the usual distinctions in free society, and make all men follow the same trade or profession, therefore, argues this splendid logician, we can love our neighbor as ourselves, and yet buy and sell him as a slave. The law of love, says he, requires only that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit; that we should regard him with benevolence while we sell him away from his wife and children; that we should in the purest philanthropy forbid him to read his Bible; that, if he attempts to escape, we should tenderly pursue him with bloodhounds, and sweetly stop him with a charge of buck-shot. For are not these what the President calls "mere physical facts, and without moral character, except in reference to the intention with which they are performed."

Thus does the President of Dartmouth College accept the famous doctrine of the Jesuits concerning the Intention. To compel a man to work for you without wages for seventy years is, he thinks, "a mere physical fact without moral character." If you do it in a *wrong spirit*, the act is a wrong one. But if you do it because you think him to be a descendant of the cursed race of Ham, whom God has ordained to slavery, it then becomes a highly virtuous act, and indeed a Christian duty. So, likewise, "to perpetuate and extend slavery" is right or wrong according to the motive from which it is done. If it be done by Mr. Calhoun, because he believes sincerely that the Union would be benefited by it, then it ought to be done. Then the law of love requires the annexation of Texas, and the establishment of slavery therein. But if it be done by Border Ruffians, "from avarice, lust, or political ambition," then the law of love forbids it. The result is, that, if you will only take care to maintain a good intention, you may do anything you will.

It is proper, however, to say, that Dr. Lord is much opposed to the abuses of slavery, to its tyrannical and oppressive laws, and to the withholding from the slaves that which is just and equal. He does not specify these abuses; but compared with his ideal of "*slavery as it ought to be*," he evidently thinks "*slavery as it is*" an imperfect and unsatisfactory institution. But according to his own ethical theory, we do not see very well how he can find fault with these abuses. For suppose that slaves are cruelly beaten and overworked, that families are separated and deprived of religious instruction; might not the slaveholder whom he rebukes reply: "Sir, these things are mere physical facts, without moral character except in reference to the intention with which they are performed. Now, our intention in doing this is good, for we find it impossible to sustain otherwise the institution which you teach us to be divinely appointed both by natural and revealed religion. Such is the perverse desire for liberty in the depraved human mind, that, without bloodhounds, whips, and rifles, we could not keep the descendants of Ham from running away. If we allowed them to read and write, we could not retain them in slavery. These

things, therefore, which you call abuses, we believe to be essential to maintain the institution. We may be wrong, but such is our sincere belief. Our intention is therefore good, and, according to your doctrine, the facts themselves are not immoral. We occasionally burn a negro alive, but it is done in order to maintain this divine institution, and therefore it is 'a mere physical fact without moral character.' It is true that in Kansas the people of Missouri have taken possession of the polls, and elected a legislature who have passed laws punishing with imprisonment and death the crime of speaking against slavery. It is true that they have destroyed presses, and burnt hotels, shot and hung and robbed and driven out of the Territory the emigrants who wished to make of it a Free State; but this has all been done because it was necessary to prevent the overthrow of this divine institution. These, therefore, are also 'mere physical facts with no moral character.' It is also true that free speech at Washington endangers the institution, and therefore it has become necessary to silence a Massachusetts Senator with the bludgeon. But when you consider our intention, you must admit that this assault on Mr. Sumner was not immoral. It was 'a mere physical fact.' All these things were done in order to prevent the overthrow of an institution which you yourself admit to be divine. According to your ethics, therefore, they are meritorious and good, and what you call the abuse of the system is in fact an essential part of it."

We do not see what Dr. Lord could say in reply to this argument. Indeed, he believes that slavery, "notwithstanding the abuses of it, has been on the whole better for the world, in respect both to righteousness and even to physical happiness in general," than its non-existence would have been. The great evil, according to him, is not to be found in slavery, but in freedom. He reserves the severity of his rebuke and the sharpness of his satire, not for the despot nor for the tyrant, but for those who wish to break every yoke and to let the oppressed go free. According to his view, it was not Pharaoh, but rather Moses, who was to be blamed. According to him, when Isaiah announced to the Jews that God required of them "to relieve the oppressed," and to "let

him go free," and "to break every yoke," he was uttering "a destructive fallacy." He was acting like "a romantic and excited person," and his sympathies were "one-sided and misdirected." And when the Lord himself went about the land preaching deliverance to the captives, and announcing the brotherhood of man, there is no doubt that, if Dr. Lord had been present, he would have thought it "very alarming." Christ's offer of comfort and rest to all men "despite existing diversities of sects, nation, race, position, capacity, intelligence, experience, relations," would have struck him as "very rash and dangerous," though very specious and flattering.

It is difficult to read these two letters of Dr. Lord without a certain sad astonishment, and without a sinking of the heart. To defend as "right in itself" a system which denies to the human being every right; to declare *that* to be "an institution of natural religion" which all eminent philosophers, jurists, and moralists, with scarcely an exception, have condemned as contrary to natural justice; to proclaim as "a positive institution of revealed religion," and as "not inconsistent with the law of love," a system which reduces man to the level of the brute beast,—this courageous avowal of evil principle has been reserved for the President of a New England College, in a land of freedom, and for a minister of the holy Jesus in the middle of the nineteenth century! In an age of light, he has chosen darkness. The result, however, of his pamphlets will probably be, on the whole, good. For it is always necessary "that the man of sin should be revealed," that evil principles should be uttered, in order to be seen in all their enormity. The time had come, in the discussion of slavery, when it was necessary that some one should say all that could be said in defence of the principle, that it might be seen how little there was to be said for it. By what fatality Dr. Lord was left to occupy this bad eminence of evil, we cannot say. His books will do good, though in a somewhat different way from that which he expects. They will stand as a beacon to warn men of the results to which we may be led by a theology divorced from humanity, by a logic which is not corrected by common sense, and by a system of doctrine which makes fear rather than love the essential motive power in religion.

For when we trace to the bottom Dr. Lord's theory, we shall find, as always, the root of the moral system to lie in the theology. The view which one takes of God determines his view of man, of life, and of duty. There is one class of thinkers who regard God essentially as a Governor; another class who look on him essentially as a Father. But as the chief purpose of a governor is to restrain evil, while the chief purpose of a father is to develop good, man, according to the 'one view, is a being to be restrained, while, according to the other, he is a being to be educated. The idea of government suggests restraints and checks; the virtues desired in a subject are submission, obedience, humility. He who regards God chiefly as a ruler will think that he prefers even an obedience born of constraint to a more irregular obedience born of freedom. The very word FREEDOM becomes at last distasteful, always suggesting irregularity and license. Having thus made obedience to God to consist in the submission of a slave, it is not strange that slavery in its grossest outward forms should become sanctified and respectable.

The opposite view, which looks upon God chiefly as a father, regards man not as a slave to be governed, but as a soul to be unfolded, and looks upon life as a place of education. And here, immediately and necessarily, comes in a sense of the value of liberty. Milton, in whose soul the love of liberty lay deep, and to whom life everywhere appeared a scene of free struggle and moral conquest over evil, says: "Were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hinderance of evil-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person more than the restraint of ten vicious." And again, speaking of Adam, he says: "Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had else been a mere artificial Adam. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force; God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence."

Those who contend for the emancipation of the slaves, contend in this spirit, and for this reason. They believe in freedom as the essential element of virtue. They abhor slavery, not chiefly for its outward and material evils, though these are the inevitable God-appointed mark of its foul nature, but mainly for the evil which it does to the SOUL. They abhor it because it forbids human progress, and because it stupefies the human reason. If the negro slave in America is in a higher moral condition than he was in Africa, it is not his slavery which has made him so, *but the surrounding freedom*. It is because, though a slave, and in spite of slavery, he drinks in some of the blessed influences of mental and moral liberty belonging to that happier race around him. No thanks to those who made him a slave, or who keep him so, for this. It was a great blessing to Joseph, that he was sold as a slave into Egypt; but it was not his being a slave, but his being in Egypt, which brought the blessing. "Howbeit, *ye* meant it for evil, but *the Lord* turned it to good." It was by the providence of God, and for the good of the world, that Jesus was put to death; but that is no excuse for Judas, Caiaphas, or Pilate. If those who persecuted the early Christians had defended their cruelty on the ground that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," they would have argued just as Dr. Lord argues when he defends slavery on the ground that negroes are better off in America than they would have been in Africa. Conceive of a Christian bishop, in the third century, writing a "Letter of Inquiry to his Brother Ministers on Persecution." He might have argued that persecution is an institution of God, according to natural religion, because it tends to check the tendency of the mind to error, because it keeps the Church humble and pure, and restrains the tendencies to evil which prosperity always unfolds. He might also argue that it was a "positive institution of revealed religion," since Elijah, the great Prophet of God, destroyed four hundred and fifty of the priests of Baal, saying, "Take the prophets of Baal, let not one escape." He might have argued, that to burn a man at the stake for heresy, or to throw him to the lions for being a Christian, "is not inconsistent with the law of love"; since these "are mere physical facts without moral character,

except in reference to the intention with which they are performed." And the intention in the one case being to prevent a soul-destroying heresy, and in the other case to prevent the Roman empire from being disturbed by new religions, to persecute "from these righteous and benevolent motives is truly virtuous and commendable," and "one of the methods by which good men become co-workers with God as benefactors of the world." Surely there is not an argument used by Dr. Lord in defending slavery, which might not be used with yet greater force in defence of pagan and papal persecutions.

Such heresies as these cure themselves. But, in the mean time, there is no doubt that they do a great deal of harm. Tending to ultimate good, they yet produce necessarily much present evil. These writings of Dr. Lord will not strengthen slavery; but they will promote infidelity, furnish a handle to scoffers against Christianity, and tend to produce an opposite ultraism. When Dr. Lord argues that slavery is a "positive institution of revealed religion," no man will believe any more in slavery, but many will disbelieve in revelation. Those who defend iniquities like these out of the Bible, do more to promote infidelity than could be done by Voltaire, Paine, and Abner Kneeland, all together. They wound Christ in the house of his friends. We should consider the risk of a young man's becoming an infidel by going to Dartmouth College greater than from attending a course of lectures by Fanny Wright or Robert Owen. For Dr. Lord is doing his best to convince the young men under his charge that the Bible teaches a system which tramples on human rights; which sells men and women and children on the auction-block; which separates husbands and wives; which pollutes society, degrades labor, destroys the purity of woman; which tends to poverty and ignorance, to cruelty and violence and war; which attacks freedom of speech, of the press, of the pulpit, and of the ballot-box; and which is moving on to the sure destruction of national peace and prosperity. If the young men at Dartmouth believe their teacher, as they naturally will, the consequence will be that they will disbelieve the Bible. We therefore think it would be not much worse for a young man's Christianity to send him to an infidel club, than

to let him go through Dartmouth College while it is under the charge of Dr. Lord.

It has been a common thing to attack Harvard College on account of the Unitarian opinions held by a majority of its government. Parents have been earnestly warned against sending their children to such an institution, although no one has ever been able to give a single instance of an attempt by any Cambridge Unitarian Professor on the creed of an Orthodox student. If any such instance *could* have been given, there is no doubt that it would have been brought forward. Instead of facts, it has always been necessary to argue from the supposed tendency of listening to the instructions of such teachers. But we would ask intelligent Orthodox men to decide which is worse, for a boy to listen to a lecture on Greek or Astronomy from a Unitarian, or for the same boy to be under a President who is such a fanatic for slavery, that, not only in the lecture-room, but by repeated publications, he defends that institution as divinely appointed, and as an important part both of natural and revealed religion? We wish no harm to Dartmouth College, but rather good, in desiring that it may be speedily relieved from the injury of having at its head a man of such extreme and bitter fanaticism.

J. F. C.

ART. V.—A HOMILY IN VERSE.

"Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days."
Eccles. xi. 1.

I.

CAST thy bread upon the waters,
Food for Penury's sons and daughters;
Nor on its drowning crumbs mistrustful gaze,
For thou shalt find it after many days.

Sail thine aid across the billows
For famished mouths and fevered pillows;
Then watch it back over those streetless ways,
For thou shalt find it after many days.

Sink thy corn within the furrow
Of labor faithful, patience thorough;
And trust it to great Nature's drops and rays,
For thou shalt find it after many days.

Fix Life's purpose steady; never
Turn thee from its keen endeavor;
The prize is reached through baffles and delays,
And thou shalt find it after many days.

II.

Not the aid which thou bestowest;
Not the very seed thou sowest;
Not just the prize thy dotting heart portrays;—
Thou wilt not find these after any days.

Nobler stores and growths and prizes
Lie in what the soul devises.
For this hath spheres that show no waning phase,
Nor own dependence on these mortal days.

Crave from Fortune no indenture;—
Boldly on, and venture, venture!
Who scants his pains and risks for Heavenly Praise,
Finds naught but pain and losses all his days.

TRUST! Let not weak Expectation
Take the place of that strong station.
The peace that's free from this world's hurt and craze
Thou 'lt find above, where there are no more days.

N. L. F.

ART. VI.—RELATIONS OF REASON AND FAITH.

WE have carried out, according to our ability, the intention intimated in the paper upon the Unitarian Controversy, in the first number of this journal for the current year. We have discussed the bearings of this controversy upon the Scripture doctrines of the nature and the state of man, — of God and Christ, — and of atonement, — and upon the grounds and methods of biblical criticism and interpretation. These large themes have been debated for ages by parties holding different convictions concerning them. The history of opinions on these subjects, a mere review or summary of the cumbersome literature of these discussions, would be nothing more than an extension of materials similar to those with which we have had to deal, in confining our view, for the most part, to the last half-century of the controversy. The controversy on these doctrines has divided those who otherwise would have been friends in all the relations and sympathies of a Christian fellowship, while their conscientious differences upon matters which, in the view of both parties, involve the vital truths of the Gospel, have alienated them widely from each other. These protracted and unfinished discussions carry with them a moral distinct from any of their own specific issues. That moral embraces many serious and practical lessons. This great lesson, especially, stands prominent, — that experience has proved it to be altogether unlikely that all professed Christians will ever thoroughly accord in matters of speculative faith, of doctrinal opinion, or religious observance. There are reasons which compel us to adopt this conclusion. The materials for the formation and exercise of our faith are found in a large book, as to the authority, meaning, and interpretation of which there certainly is room for a wide variety of opinion. Then the vagueness of language, the diversities of intelligence, insight, temperament, sensibility, of mental depth and power, of moral culture and of spiritual apprehension among human beings, would persuade us that it is hopeless to suppose that they can ever *believe* alike in a sense which includes the two vigorous conditions of true faith, — the thinking alike and the

feeling alike. The utmost that we can look for in this direction is to divest controversy and all religious differences of everything that is acrimonious and odious and passionate, so that we may at least learn the graces of courtesy, of kind temper, and of charity; so that we may respect sincerity of belief everywhere, for there are tokens which will always prove whether one is sincere, earnest, truth-loving, and really religious in forming and holding his convictions. When wise and faithful and devout persons differ very decidedly in opinion, we must find what relief we can — and the relief is highly compensatory for our anxiety — in reflecting that they also agree in loving the Gospel and the Bible. The most eccentric orbits are all made true to mathematics, because they own a primary attraction.

But, it may be said, to allow sincerity in belief or opinion is one thing, and to attach to it the epithet Christian, thus admitting that the extremest differences of a professed Christian faith come within the safe range of acceptance with God, is quite another thing. It is insisted on the popular side in this controversy, that there is a limit within which liberty of opinion, however sincere, must be restricted, if it would be safe. The human mind, with all its inquisitiveness, its boastfulness, and its love of freedom in its speculations, is but one of the elements to be taken into account in discussing matters of faith. There is the positive authority of Christian truth, which is paramount to any claim of liberty we may set up for the exercise of our reason. Sincerity and zeal, when transfused into speculative opinions, imply that there is some truth of transcendent authority and value in the subject-matter of belief. There must, then, be an attractive power, a compelling sway, in truth revealed by God to compensate and hold in check the tendencies of reason to fly off into independent orbits of their own. The question whether there is anything in revelation which impugns or demands a renunciation of reason, is intercepted by the claim, that, if there is, reason must yield. The champion of the rights of reason will then urge that the help and warrant of reason are indispensable in authenticating a revelation. If reason must thus unavoidably be allowed to judge of the credentials of revelation, a consistency between the two sources and

methods of our knowledge will require that what we are called to accept through our reason shall also harmonize with our reason.

The scholastic formula advanced by theologians to meet the conditions of the case is, *Fides ante intellectum*; or, *Faith must precede the understanding in the reception of revealed truths*. As is the case with all such formulas on test questions, so in this, the seeming positiveness and explicitness of the statement made in it are so qualified the moment we proceed to definitions, as to throw us back into the very vortex of debate. The formula, indeed, contains within its own terms all the elements of the controversy which it would decide. What do we mean by faith? and what do we mean by the understanding? Does faith involve an exercise of the understanding, or can it under some circumstances dispense with the aid and resist the suggestions of the understanding? And again, What is meant by the word *precede* in the formula? Does it signify merely that faith should have the start of the understanding, leaving that faculty free to come up with faith, and then to settle all matters of joint interest with it? Or does it signify that faith has a title so to occupy the ground that it may warn off the understanding, and refuse even to hold a parley with it? The formula may be construed to mean that some things must be first believed in order that the understanding may be engaged and qualified to deal with them; or that some things must be believed, in order that the understanding, restrained to its proper province, may not require sensible or demonstrative evidence where faith itself, when its suggestions are listened to, will substitute another kind of evidence, or supply the lack of evidence. And, once more, the formula may be construed as meaning that we must believe some things without the slightest exercise of the understanding, and even in spite of its protests. We might gather a curious category of definitions for this formula from the uses it has been made to serve. There have been boasts of faith, and ventures of faith, and submissions of faith, and sweet and gentle triumphs of faith, all of which have made the various exercises of man's believing faculty to cover a richer field for thought, for story, and for philosophical discussion, than is offered

even by science, with all its wealth of interest. The old father of dogmatic theology meant to boast of his docility when he said "he *believed* some things *because* they were *impossible*." That boast becomes the merest commonplace, if it means that the things believed are impossible *to men*, and it is but irreverent folly if it vaunts a belief in things that are impossible *with God*.

But what becomes of the supposed authority in the formula, *Fides ante intellectum*, when, instead of deciding all the issues in the controversy as to faith and reason, it is found to open them all anew? The simple truth is, that there is either sophistry or disingenuousness involved in the expected advantage to be gained from this formula, whenever the motive for alleging it is to affront or deprecate or humble the reason. We have found the formula, *Fides ante intellectum*, "Faith before the understanding," used for a purpose of which we should not exaggerate the outrage done by it to common sense, if we interpret it as saying that *digestion must precede eating*; that we must incorporate and assimilate the nourishment to be drawn from the food of religious truth without any exercise of those faculties, any help from those processes, by which all other crude food passes into sustenance. And when the theologian thus calls upon us to deal with the dogmas which he proposes to us, we may be sure that he means to offer us some indigestible food. When the formula, taken in the sense in which popular theology is thought to have ratified it, is made to accompany any proposition offered to our faith as a doctrine of revelation, it is well for us always to pause and make sure of our ground. "Once admit," says the pleader for faith in spite of reason, — "once admit that God has said this or that, and then, however incomprehensible or confounding it may be, we must believe it." Very true. Most certainly we shall believe it; for the admission that God has said it, would be the highest possible proof of it. But how thin is the veil of sophistry by which the theologian thinks to blind us to the whole amount of the difference between what God says and what God is *said* to say! "Once admit that God has said it," &c. Why, the whole preliminary process, the toil and task of the problem, is glibly slipped over as if it were the merest pastime of the mind. One, at least, of

the conditions for securing from us the acknowledgment that God has said or revealed what claims our belief as from him is, that we can believe it of him. If we cannot believe it of God, we cannot admit it to have come from him. Every truth or doctrine or message which we receive as from God is accepted either by an intuitive and spontaneous faith, or by a process in which faith has been won by the exercise of our intellectual and moral faculties. A spontaneous faith by no means restricts its ready reception to what we call the easiest, simplest materials. On the contrary, it loves to take in some of the loftiest and most august objects; it prefers soaring to creeping, and the more sublime and awful and overpowering its themes, the more confiding in general is its trust. But when faith involves a process, and, whether upon a large and free, or upon an intricate and narrow theme, finds itself teased and perplexed, then it has an alternative before it. Either its confidence must be won through processes which the reason regards as legitimate, or it may yield what looks like confidence, but at the loss or sacrifice of the quality in itself which makes it a divinely trained faculty of the soul. Even if in the seclusion of a deep wilderness a being of seemingly celestial nature should appear to us, and with audible voice should declare a message as from God, all the inquisitiveness and strength which our reasoning faculty has gained *by all previous exercises* would engage upon the more or less deliberate trial of the question, whether it was probable that the messenger and the message were from God. We should bring all the reasoning power which we possessed by natural endowment, and all the practised skill and caution and distrust and confidence which we had acquired in its use, to help us to a decision of the understanding, and then as the understanding pronounced, we should believe or disbelieve. Of course the decision of the understanding would be different in different persons, because the range and vigor and processes of the understanding faculty are different in different persons. The credulous, the superstitious, the sceptical, the logical, the prejudiced, the candid, the clear-headed, the wise, and the well-informed, might each hold a different opinion about the supposed heavenly manifestation. If they all believed it to be a heav-

only manifestation, they would all believe the message ; but whether the one or the other should believe or disbelieve the appearance would depend upon the relations established previously between his faith and his reason, and upon the confidence and training of his understanding. For such appearances have been alleged under various circumstances, and they have been believed in and discredited under various combinations of these circumstances. The history of the beliefs of men is but a history of the relation between faith in its spontaneous exercise, and the various modifications of its exercise under the sluggishness or the activity, the neglect or the culture, the true adjustment or the lawless action, of the elements of the understanding. In some ages and places, and by some persons, that seemingly celestial messenger would have been received, and would now be received, as divine, independently of the tenor of his message. The marvel would satisfy so much of the reasoning powers as were brought to bear upon it, and would accredit it to the faith. In other ages and places, and by other persons, that appearance would have been discredited, and would now be discredited, as a hallucination, or an ocular deception, or a creature of the woods. But to the robust and healthful and well trained in mind of all ages, and of the present day, the tenor of the message would be the main ground for a decision of the reason as to its claims to faith.

Ought not the plea that we must humiliate and prostrate our reason as a condition for receiving through faith a doctrine of revelation, at once to suggest the fear that something unreasonable is to be proposed to us ? How is it in other departments of our intellectual, and even of our moral training ? Ought we not to suspect, do we not suspect, the temptation, or the counsel, or the pleading which proposes itself to us by first flouting at the natural, instinctive promptings of our own inner being ? When any one undertakes to seduce from virtue the pure, the innocent, the unskilled in wickedness, he will begin by ridiculing as prudish prejudices those sentiments of the heart which are silently protesting against his solicitations. And when those instinctive sentiments have been trained by affectionate and healthful care, by parental love and wise teaching, the be-

guiler insinuates his contempt of those who, instead of indulging their own freedom, are held in the leading-strings of home or conventionalism. Is there not one point of similarity between this flouting at moral "prejudices," and the affronting of the reason of those whom God addresses as reasonable beings? Do we find that natural science, as in its highest range and its widest ventures it trespasses on the realm of religion, requires a prostration of our reason? An attempt is often made to contrast and set in opposition those qualities which are respectively needed in scientific and religious investigations. Humility, simplicity, docility, and candor are represented as peculiarly and especially requisite in the theologian, and the implication is that the scientific man may dispense with the fullest exercise of such qualities. But let the scientific man dispense with them in any measure, let him venture to disregard the least suggestion from them, and then mark how the world will estimate his merits or the value of his labors. Our own professional biases shall not hinder our acknowledgment that divines will not wisely challenge a comparison on this score between themselves and natural philosophers. Who, among the humblest and most docile and most candid students of the Revealed Word,—and it has had many meek and lowly-minded disciples,—can be named as surpassing Newton in those graces of soul? But it is positively wicked to require an abasement of the reason as a condition for the exercise of those graces which are the ornaments of all true wisdom in divine or human science.

But it is said that our reasoning powers have been impaired and vitiated by our descent from Adam after his fall. Dr. Pusey, in a recent sermon opposing views advanced by Mr. Jowett and others,* says: "It is almost a received formula on the evidences of the Gospel, that the province of reason is antecedent to that of faith; that we are on grounds of reason to believe in revelation, in other words, to receive faith, and then on the ground of faith to receive its contents, which are not to

* *Christian Faith and the Atonement*. Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in reference to the views published by Mr. Jowett and others. By E. B. Pusey, D.D., Rev. T. D. Bernard, M.A., &c., &c. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1856.

be contrary to reason. True, as is urged, since reason is a gift of God, it will not conflict with his other gift, revelation or faith. But then, what reason? Reason such as Adam had it before the Fall, unwarped by prejudices, unswayed by pride, undeafened by passions, unallured by self-idolizing, unfettered by love of independence, master of itself because subdued to God, enlightened by God, a mirror of the mind of God, reflecting his image and likeness after which it was created, a finite copy of the perfections of the Infinite? Truly, no one would demur to the answer of such an oracle as this. A work of God, which remained in harmony with God, must be in harmony with every other creation of God, for both would be the finite expressions of the one archetype, the mind of God. But that poor blinded prisoner, majestic in its wreck, bearing still the lineaments of its primeval beauty and giant might, yet doomed, until it be set free, to grind in the mill of its prison-house, and make sport for the master to whom it is enslaved,—this, which cannot guide itself, is no guide to the mind of God.”

The title to the sermon from which this extract is taken is “All Faith the Gift of God.” Our readers will have noticed the confusion or the error in the first sentence of the paragraph. The writer changes the meaning of the word *belief*, as defining the *conviction* attained by reason and testimony of the credibility of a revelation, into another meaning, as a *miraculous gift* bestowed by God. But from those grounds and processes of reason by which we reach a faith in an alleged revelation, is it possible for him to exclude all regard to the contents and substance of the message? And again, unless we mean to allow in this transcendent matter one startling exception to the wise law of *adaptation* which we ascribe to God’s workings, we must claim that a message addressed to an impaired reason must be suited all the more skilfully and mercifully to the infirmities of that reason. It is bad enough to have to suffer, for the guilt of others, the inheritance of a crippled and diseased reason; but to have what is left to us of its original functions baffled and ridiculed, is to allow us but a very questionable remnant of a divine endowment.

We are not going any farther into the metaphysics or

even into the polemics of this dreary controversy. For ourselves, we cannot accord with a sentiment which we have somewhere seen expressed, that "the glory of the believing man consists in the prostration of the reasoning man." We know of no doctrine or precept or promise or declaration in revelation which throws contempt on human reason, or scorns its aid, or does otherwise than appeal to it and invite its companionship as far as it can go. That some truths in revelation baffle our reason, exceed its grasp, and lift it into realms too rare and dizzy for its breath and thought, is a lesson with which we started in our childhood, and are rejoiced to learn anew every day that we live. We do not care to be trifled with by theologians, when, for the purpose of confusing us, they confound the meaning of the word *reason* with the meaning of the word *conceit*. *Reason* is one thing; the *pride of reason* is quite another thing. Our Creator and Disposer has happily — we ought rather to say, fearfully — given us abundant means for distinguishing between the just, the true, and the safe exercises of reason in its healthful action, and that painfully large variety of its workings when impaired by disease, by prejudice, by vice, or any other limitation or perversion. Nor is there any very profound mystery involved in the familiar truth that humility and docility, and self-distrust and confidence in the great Source of reason, with a filial trust and a waiting submission, refine and strengthen the soul's high faculty. True faith exalts human reason, instead of humiliating it.

Every human being who has intelligently received the Christian religion has accepted it either through a process of his own reason, or through his confidence in the reasoning processes of others who have proposed that religion to his belief. Protestantism represents the application of the former of these conditions, — the trial of one's creed by his own private reason or judgment. Romanism represents the application of the latter condition, — that of reliance upon the supposed ability and conscientiousness of others in establishing reasonable grounds for the creed which it offers. When the controversy between the two parties is narrowed down to the essential issue of the whole strife, it is reduced to this question, — whether the rule of faith and life for a Chris-

tian allows him to ratify it to his own reason through a proper use of the Scriptures and all the means which throw light upon them; or whether he must rely upon authority, upon an ecclesiastical authority, which is supposed to have at once relieved him of the responsibility of private judgment, and to have secured for him something more sure than such judgment, in the large majority of cases, could possibly attain. Those who yield to such authority may still carry on between themselves a half-amicable, half-hostile skirmish, like that between the Romanists and the Puseyites. Their limited controversy centres upon the tests which the individual reason, surrendered up to church authority, still insists upon applying to the historical credentials of that authority, to the subjects and conditions and measurements of its lawful exercise, to the range of its prerogative, and to the exponent of it in pope, bishops, councils, or convocations. Even within this limited department of the whole issue between authority and liberty, there is material enough, not only for an open controversy between Romanists and Protestant Episcopalians, but also for a sharp strife between the Transmontane and the Cisalpine Romanists, and between the High-Church and the Low-Church Episcopalians. To dispose of all these subordinate contentions requires a faculty like that which one needs in sounding the unfathomed depths of the canon law. Those who forego some measure of their own liberty thus differ as to the terms and limitations of that ecclesiastical submission which they yield to the principle of authority. Protestants, whom consistency commits to an entire rejection of such authority, have found quite as wide a field for their own strifes in settling the terms and limitations for the exercise of private reason in matters of faith. Some forms of Protestantism, after battering the outside defences of Romanism, have removed its engines and weapons into their own peculiar citadel. Protestantism has but slowly and reluctantly come to confront the practical results of its own first principles. It has endeavored to arrest the action of reason at various stages of its inquisitive processes with matters of faith. The Scriptures do not contain a single sentence implying that their lessons are offered to a reason impaired by the Fall. They do affirm

that pride, and hardness of heart, and prejudice, and a love of error and sin in individuals gathered in a common crowd, make some Scripture truths offensive and incredible to them. But these offensive and incredible truths are not what the theologian calls the mysteries of faith, but are generally matters of plain common-sense, morality, and wisdom. Individuals in the same crowd would receive gladly the same truths, not by any prostration of their reason, but through a healthful condition of their hearts. Those Scriptures represent God as inviting men to "reason together" with him; they put from him to us the fair question, "Are not my ways equal?" they "speak as to wise men," and bid us "judge" what they say; they ask, "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" If Scripture truths were addressed to an impaired reason, they would be accommodated to its infirmities; at any rate, they would give us warning to put away the poor remnant of our reason, instead of inviting and appealing to its exercise. The astronomer gives us fair notice that, when he takes us under his tuition, he expects us to begin with a complete inversion of our supposed position as regards the heavens. We must stand upon our heads instead of upon our feet; the east must become west with us, our right hands must become our left hands, and we must set the whole skies on a countermarch that a retrograde motion may show for a progressive motion, as it really is. It would have been easy for revelation to proclaim the same condition, and just as high science constantly reminds us that we must take the testimony of our senses as the opposite of the truth, so might faith have required us to interpret the suggestions of reason by contraries. But it has not required this.

The great question to which all the thoughts and inquiries and controversies of long Christian ages have been pointing is this: Whether there is within our reach and use a religion which will meet the wants of devout, earnest, and thinking persons,—a religion which we can refer to the Supreme Father as its Divine Source and Sanction,—a religion which in the highest and most honest exercise of our own faculties we can approve, and to which we can yield our hearts and lives with manifest evidences of benefit and sanctification? The

overwhelming evidence that the Christian world is in possession of such a religion must be supposed to be admitted, not only by all believers, but even by some unbelievers; for the candid and wise of the latter class would not venture to dispute what millions have testified to as a matter of personal experience. But what we wish to mark and to explain is the fact that many candid and wise unbelievers, who will allow the sincerity and the sanctification of others in and by their own faith, cannot of themselves accept that faith under the conditions by which it is offered to them. So strong is the natural need and craving of human beings for the comfort and strength of religion, that, as experience has fully proved, in lack of a religion possessing all the attractions just mentioned, most men will accept a religion that fails in one or more points of that high standard. Men have been found able to believe religions, and some forms of the Christian religion, which did not present to them lofty and generous views of God, which would not commend themselves to the sober inquiring processes of the mind, or touch the deeper affections of the human heart, or have a purifying and exalting effect upon the life. Religions and forms of religion lacking one or even all of these qualities, have engaged the intensest faith of human beings. By some overruling influence which has made sincerity of soul to compensate for heathen superstitions and a grovelling creed, some power of devotion, some impulse of virtue, some nutriment of piety, has come from the very lowest idolatries, from the meanest objects to which the soul has clung. But as mind and heart work their way out of these delusions through the impulses of a purer and a nobler faith, the religious instinct of man is educated, and is made to apply higher and more scrutinizing tests to what is offered to it as a divine religion.

We wish to illustrate our own views upon the relations between Reason and Faith as they have been developed in the controversy of which we have been treating. It will be found that Orthodoxy, assuming the championship of the principles of Faith, has denied the full prerogative which Unitarianism claims for Reason in the study and interpretation of revealed religion. Orthodoxy says that Unitarianism has been found insufficient to satisfy the

heart, to feed the life of piety, and has been renounced on that account by some of its disciples. Unitarianism asserts that Orthodoxy insults the reason, and has been abandoned on that account by multitudes of intelligent persons who once accepted it.

It has never fallen within our personal experience to know a single man or woman of fair intelligence and true Christian culture who, having in the full maturity of life received the essential and characteristic views of Unitarian Christianity, understandingly, devoutly, consistently, and in practical fidelity to them, has renounced them for any of the forms of Orthodoxy. If any such case were brought to our notice, we should venture largely upon the risk of being pronounced a bigot in our obstinacy of Unitarianism, before we would yield to the show of evidence that all the conditions thus specified had been fulfilled. We should ask full assurance that our views of the Gospel had once been thoroughly understood, heartily believed, and loyally honored in the training of the character and the conduct of the life. We should require proof likewise, that, since Unitarian views have been compelled to assert themselves against a considerable amount of prejudice and popular opposition, and against a prevailing notion that they are unscriptural, a professed disciple of them should have known something of the long controversy in which they have been involved. We should ask evidence that he had been a Unitarian from personal study and conviction; that he had been able to vindicate his faith from Scripture text and from Church history. Then we should be exceedingly inquisitive as to the occasion, the reasons, and the method of his conversion. If he made large account of his feelings or his heart, as the medium of his conversion, we should be prompted to probe him as thoroughly as possible. There are piques, and passions, and disappointments, and partialities; there are fancies, and there are morbid and despondent sentiments, which may have great influence in such cases. Now we do not say there never has been an instance in which a renunciation of Unitarianism for Orthodoxy would bear all these tests. We say only, that we have never personally known such a case.

We are fully aware of the strength of the assertion we

have made, and we have weighed every word in which we have uttered it. We have done more. We have sat down in deep and silent reverie to recall and summon before us, not without the beating of some sad memories in the chambers of the heart, every friend, acquaintance, and traditionary associate in the pure Unitarian faith, and every one who has been the subject of a religious biography, who might be said to have realized the kind of conversion to which we have referred. We find our assertion will stand the test of such a trial. Even the little fellowship of acknowledged modern Unitarians has seemingly suffered much from defections. Our opponents have loved to call it the half-way house to infidelity. It has apparently been so to some who seemed to find in what they took to be Unitarianism a temporary delay in their course of sceptical experience, the first impulse in which they derived from Orthodoxy. We have never, either here or in Europe, furnished the Roman Church with a priest from one of our pulpits, but a few men and women have gone from our communion to her altar-rails. The pages of our own journal once had a contributor, who, having used his strong lance both for and against most of the creeds in heaven and on earth, including our own, is now a Roman knight. But even now, as formerly, is the question asked concerning him, whether he helps or harms the religious cause which, for the time being, he advocates with such a marvellous versatility in logic and philosophy.

Two or three once zealous Unitarian laborers, the promoters of benevolent and even sectarian schemes among us, are now in other fellowships. Either they have more of some qualities, or less of others, than were compounded and proportioned in their former associates. Either they desired a sympathy which they did not find, or they offered a sympathy which was not accepted, and they did wisely to go and seek what they needed where they could find it, and to go and exercise what they had where it would be appreciated. Young girls, too, there have been and are,—and unless there is more fidelity in our churches and families in the work of robust religious training for the minds and souls of the young, there will be many more of that most

interesting class in our community to imitate the catching example, — who have found the faith, or rather we ought to say, the mode of worship and the creed of their parents, ineffective for their *feelings*. Our communion, though small, has been free, and we have done so little in the work of *indoctrinating* a new generation, that we have no right to suppose that even half of those who are nominally with us have really any decided faith. As the generation of noble Christian matrons who trained their minds and souls by a religion which fed the thoughts as well as the feelings has been vanishing year by year, we have had no reason to expect their full-formed, consistent, and abiding religious convictions in those of their granddaughters who leave out the *thought*, and have regard only to the *feeling*, which enters into a living and earnest Christian piety. When these young persons of either sex profess to have found in some other communion what they did not find in our own, a kindly suggestion may prompt them to ask, if they did not *take with them* to their new religious refuge some element of a true religious life which they did not *bring with them* to our communion. Unitarian views may not have been congenial to their feelings, because their feelings were not then brought into sympathy with religion in any form. It may have been an empty frivolity, a light-headed indifference, or a lack of such thought and mental discipline as an intelligent faith requires of its disciples, or it may have been a vacuum of heart, or a neglect of the law of practical Christian usefulness, which chilled the growth of piety. It may perhaps be said that a minister is bound to engage the feelings of all who are under his religious care, and that he will rouse in the young and the susceptible those emotions which kindle the religious life, if he really preaches the truth as it is in Jesus. We can only reply, that it is easier to say this than to make it good. There may be a show of religious sensibility, and a manifestation of religious interest, produced under other ministrations of doctrine, which we may regard as debilitating or unhealthful to the spirit, or as a poor substitute for some gentle grace of character, or some robust virtue in the life. At any rate, if a minister tries to preach the truth, those who listen should try to receive it by

some engagedness of their own feelings. Then, if they fail of conviction, and satisfaction, and true religious impulse, they may offer their feelings to some different ritual or doctrine. When any one, man or woman, young or old, speaks of having been *converted*, he should remember that the word implies a *former* as well as a *present* belief, a conversion *from* something as well as *to* something. If this suggestion should remind some persons that they held no real religious convictions, and had no earnestness or assurance of faith before they experienced their change, charity will forbid their speaking of themselves as *converts*.

Of course, as it would be invidious in us to specify, in each case of seeming dissatisfaction with Unitarian views, the defect or the bias or the motive or the reason which would explain it without the least discredit to those views, so it may appear like arrogance in us to imply that all defections from our communion may be explained by some process not conclusive of the truth in any such case. But if it be arrogance, we cannot but indulge it. Every case within our own knowledge yields to an explanation which leaves our confidence in the Scriptural truth, the practical power, and the sufficiency of Unitarian views, all untouched. And if that confidence needed to be rallied and sustained under any shock which it receives, the conversions *to* Unitarianism, the manifold tokens of *tendencies* to it, and the constant and amazing assertion of its principles by those who have been trained in all other Christian communions, would more than reinstate our confidence. Our opponents must not suppose us to be mere jot and tittle sectarians in such a way as to claim every nominally Orthodox man who accepts our interpretation of a proof text, or our principles of Scripture criticism, or joins with us in a slight upon the offensive peculiarities and the short-comings of the popular forms of religion. As we are revising these pages, we have chanced to read the criticisms in several Orthodox pages upon one of the most striking features of Mrs. Stowe's new Antislavery novel, a book now in the hands of a hundred thousand readers. Those characteristic features of Orthodox faith and piety which have always been most offensive to Unitarians receive from her pen a most scorching de-

lineation. And so her critics visit upon her in return the sharpest censures. She is accused of "caricaturing Orthodoxy just as the Unitarians do." We leave her to the tormentors. But we gather up the "concessions of Trinitarians," the heresies of commentators, the bold utterances of men who have signed the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the merciless castigations visited upon "Presbyterian ministers and elders" by the pen of a female Beecher, and we say they all mean something. They mean just this, and something more too, — that Orthodoxy is not the *ultimatum* of Christian faith for this world. We do not say that Unitarianism holds that honored place, but we have a strong conviction that Unitarianism, or rather the excellent thing which we mean by the word, and which is infinitely better than an *ism*, is in near proximity to it.

The true and thoroughly trained and thoroughly convinced Unitarian holds that his view of the Gospel is identical with the primitive Christianity of Christ and his Apostles. The New Testament is radiant to him with that sublime and simple system of Divine Truth, the height and the depth of which transcend the power of his reason, and often confound the searchings of his understanding, but do no violence to the intuitions or the suggestions of his reason. The deep-sea plummet of the mariner fails to find soundings on the mid-ocean, not because it is not perfectly adapted to its uses, but because its capacity is exceeded by the profundity into which it sinks. If there be shoals or dangerous rocks rising even in the deepest waters, the plummet is as good for its uses there as on the coasts. But the fact that the plummet finds no bottom on the ocean assures the confidence of the mariner in sailing without a continual recourse to it. So is it with reason when engaged upon the truths of revelation. Reason cannot sound their depths because they exceed its capacity; but so far as it can exercise its functions, it meets with no obstruction, no embarrassment. The system of Gospel truths invites the admiring homage of human reason, and casts no reproach and visits no discomfiture upon it. Yet more, Unitarianism insists that it was this very simplicity of the Gospel, this full accordance of its truths with reason, that led to its corruption. Theologians and

philosophers, impatient of that naked simplicity which made it level to the apprehension and consistent with the understanding of the common mind, at once tried their wits upon it. All manner of complications of theory and fancy, of creed and symbolism, were introduced into the faith of Christendom. Among all the early heresies, so called, it is evident that the simple Gospel itself was the most odious and unpopular heresy. How transparently clear upon the pages of ecclesiastical history is the evidence, that, from the very year in which the Gospel engaged the interest of speculative minds, it yielded its severe and easily apprehended truths to the cunning processes of philosophy! The pages of Neander are strewn all over with sentences of like tenor with the following: "In Irenæus [himself a disciple of a disciple of St. John] the sufferings of Christ are represented as having a necessary connection with the rightful deliverance of man from the power of Satan. The Divine justice is here displayed, in allowing even Satan to have his due. Of satisfaction done by the sufferings of Christ to the Divine justice, as yet not the slightest mention is to be found; but doubtless there is lying at bottom the idea of a perfect fulfilment of the law by Christ, — of his perfect obedience to the holiness of God in its claims to satisfaction due to it from mankind." * Such sentences intimate to us the steps in the constructive processes of dogmatic theology, the abstruse and fanciful and often the grotesque devices of men's minds to rid themselves of "the simplicity that is in Christ." Whole ages were passed in these constructive processes of theology. When we realize the extent and the sway of that empire which the philosophy of Aristotle once had over the minds of men, we can understand how a theology compounded of the elements of pure Christian faith and the devices of human ingenuity should have taken a strong hold of Christendom. Nor is it strange that processes which had for long ages been working to embarrass and complicate our faith should require time and struggle and controversy for their detection and rejection. While the Unitarian traces out the visible stages of the corruption of primitive Christianity, he

* Torrey's Neander, I. p. 642.

learns to expect just such a method for the restoration of it as the experiences of his own brotherhood of believers have verified. He is persuaded that the emancipation of the mind from the bondage of theological systems and formulas, by an intelligent and devout study of the New Testament, is the real explanation of the facts attending the appearance of what are called Liberal views of Christianity, wherever they have been reasserted. Those who are still in bondage, excellent and honored and intelligent Christians, as many of them are, may lengthen their faces, and say in lugubrious tones that Unitarianism is a fatal heresy, into which men and women are led by the pride of reason and by a corrupt human heart. But there are two sides to this argument, and the Unitarian side, so far from yielding to the defeat which is said to have been visited upon it, marks a steady recognition and triumph of its principles. Let us say again, as we said in opening the series of papers which we are bringing to a close, that we are not set upon the use of the word Unitarianism, nor vindicating all that has passed under the name. We use the term to designate a more or less homogeneous and definite system of opinions about Christianity, which are in open hostility to the Athanasian, the Augustinian, and the Calvinistic construction of the Gospel.

The processes of the Reformation have worked according to a method which common sense and fair intelligence can observe to have been conformed to the natural constitution of things. As ages had wrought in the work of ecclesiastical usurpation, through a proud hierarchy, through an ingenious system of spiritual despotism, through a ritual, a calendar of fasts and festivals, a casuistical code, and through a patient moulding of feudal institutions and political relations into a conformity with its own ghostly rule, so the Reformation could advance only by undoing the work of Romanism in all these specific devices. Every imperfect element in the Reformation, as at present it shows itself to us, and all the lingering lookings-back of prelatists, ritualists, and Puseyites to the old, forsaken, and dishonored Church of Rome, are tokens that a strife for independence has not yet quite satisfied itself that it had no quality of a rebellion against lawful rule. The processes by which a pure,

a liberal, and a rational view of the Gospel has been developed, answer at every point to those which led on the Reformation. Had we time and space, we could easily illustrate the parallel.

Let it be allowed to us to glory a little, in boasting of what we regard as the glory of our own views of Christian truth. If what we are about to say in illustration of our theme of the relations between reason and faith shall seem to some to be rather a vain offering to our own conceit, we will still ask them to bear with us, for we have to bear much from them. Considering that the Orthodox so exalt themselves above us for their humility and docility in faith, for their exclusive experience of the life of piety, and their perfect assurance that they have the seal of the covenant, they can well yield to us the poor indulgence of allowing us to justify, if we can, our "pride of reason." We say then, that when a free and intelligent mind, and a heart devoutly engaged in the search for a vigorous and practical and satisfying faith, combine their efforts in a healthful and just proportion, respecting each other's rights, and supplying each other's weaknesses, the study of the Bible will result in, or tend towards, Unitarianism. This we believe as we believe in our own existence. An unbiased and unfettered mind, intelligent, inquisitive, and well-trained, with a devout and earnest longing of the heart to know the will of God, are the conditions which, united, are favorable to the adoption of Unitarian views, and all the world over, in all time, have developed those views from the Bible. The fact has been verified under a great variety of circumstances. The strongest prejudices of training, association, and interest have yielded in evidence of it. A combination, a fair and just combination, of the elements of intelligence and piety, an harmonious adjustment of the relations of reason and faith, will issue in Liberal Christianity. Let mind and heart be brought to bear upon the contents of the New Testament, and let the proper functions of the understanding and the spirit engage harmoniously in the work, and "Unitarian tendencies" will be developed even from Orthodoxy. Let there be an excess or a deficiency in the exercise of either of the functions of either of those joint searchers in the field of Christian truth, let the felicitous propor-

tion between the elements of intelligence and piety fail in any case, and the result will be different. A disproportioned action of the mental faculties, an indulgence of mere curiosity, or bold inquisitiveness, or a restlessness under a deficiency of logical or demonstrative evidence, will issue in a philosophical scepticism, a cold and unspiritual frame of one's religious nature. Let the spiritual instincts, the emotions, the sensibilities and cravings which furnish nutriment to piety, be allowed to act without the aid of the mind's best workings, and the result will be some form of enthusiasm, fanaticism, or superstition. The most zealous advocates of Orthodox Christianity will go with us in acknowledging these consequences, when either reason or faith is allowed to act by itself in contempt of the other. The controversy between us and them concerns the just relations of reason and faith when engaged upon revealed religion, and the proportionate indulgence to be allowed to the inquisitive intellect and the believing spirit. We give to ourselves what we regard as an adequate and just, as well as a charitable and courteous, explanation of the prevalence of Orthodox views, and of their hold upon the popular faith, when we say that these views won their first acceptance, and now retain their impaired authority, because the mind, the reason, has not been allowed its rightful functions in the province of interpreting revelation. Unreasonable views and doctrines have been accepted on the ground that reason must be humbled in homage to the nobler graces of faith. Our opponents invert this charge, and allege that we indulge the pride of reason at the sacrifice of docility and humility in our faith. This censure takes for granted the supposition, which we by no means admit, but resolutely deny, that revelation proposes to our faith doctrines which confound and cross the suggestions of our reason. Denying that position, we of course insist that Unitarian views engage our intelligent faith because they satisfy our reason and win our hearty belief. If we are arrogant in claiming some of the more profound, intelligent, and cultivated Christians as witnesses to our views, we only display the same unamiable quality in a direction opposite to that in which the Orthodox indulge it, in claiming the more humble and devout of believers for their communions.

And what we have said, we repeat, that when intelligent mental culture and discipline, and an earnest spirit of piety, engage in fair and rightful proportions upon the study of revealed religion, the result is Unitarianism, or a tendency to Unitarianism. The prejudices of an Orthodox education have yielded to the free and earnest efforts of the mind to clear up some of the perplexities of its faith. In cases so numerous in our religious biographies, that candor must allow more than Orthodoxy has ever yet admitted on this point, this result has been verified. Wherever that proportionate combination of intelligence and piety of which we have spoken has been found, in a single person, in a village, in a religious society, in a community, in a social or academic circle, or in a nation, there Unitarianism, or a tendency to Unitarianism, has been the sure consequence. Poland, Holland, Switzerland, Old England, and New England present us both with eminent individual names and with general testimonies illustrating that truth. Out of the best-trained Orthodox fellowships in those lands have come men and women, who, often by wholly independent studies and exercises of their own, have espoused a Liberal Christianity. The exigencies of consistency with their own creed compel the Orthodox to maintain that all these lapses are tokens of an inborn depravity which leads the pride of reason to emancipate itself from the humbling doctrines of the Gospel. Those who were regarded as saints, so long as they kept silence and repressed their tendencies and remained in Orthodox communions, simply by acknowledging the results to which faithful Scripture study and religious discipline have conducted them, become all at once the most odious heretics, victims of one of the most subtle forms of depravity. This gross outrage alike upon common sense and upon Christian charity has been well-nigh shamed out of countenance in some places, where it was once boldly indulged; but it occasionally hints even now what it shrinks from proclaiming. Again, persons who have in youth, and under strong excitement, been converted by Orthodox doctrines, and have for years led a religious life under the same influences, and joined in the aspersions cast upon Unitarianism, have in their maturer years, on fuller study and experience, become

disciples of the very heresy which once engaged their hostile zeal.

What candid reader of the lives and writings of Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Watts will deny the traces in their religious experience and culture of those influences and tendencies which, in a hundred familiar cases on record, have relaxed the rigidity of an early creed, and led on to a more or less complete recognition of substantial Unitarianism? Were not those excellent men, and others of their contemporaries at that very interesting period in the history of the English Dissenters, inclining towards the views which were adopted by some of their most cherished friends, and by many of those a little younger than themselves, who had been in close sympathy with them? Doddridge's *Letters and Expositions* contain a great many intimations of this liberal bent and tendency of his mind. There has been a great deal of speculation as to the opinions in which Dr. Watts finally rested about the doctrine of the Trinity. The most significant fact in the whole matter is, that his mind was working so restlessly upon that doctrine, that it is impossible to say what his final opinions about it were. Now, for ourselves, we regard that period in the religious history of England as the most favorable for the manifestation and working of an intelligent piety. Its eminent Dissenting ministers were devout men, faithful pastors, diligent students of Scripture, and thorough scholars. They had been trained under Orthodoxy, but were loyal to freedom in faith. Their tendencies have an emphatic significance, and as to what they were, our opinion is decided past the likelihood of a change, for it has been formed by many delightful hours of Sunday reading given to their writings.

In what direction do the heretical tendencies of the more independent, scholarly, and catholic-spirited men of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, and Methodist communions, here and in Europe, develop themselves? We hear again the lament over the subtle depravity of the human heart, the pride of learning and reason! Leaving the judgment of the heart to Him to whom it belongs, we maintain that reason is a gift to be proud of, and learning is an excellent distinction. Of both of them, their posses-

sors ought to be at least proud enough to be moved to use them for the noblest purpose, which is as helpers in attaining an earnest and intelligent faith in divine truth. And if the intelligent exercise of close and inquisitive thought, and the searching tests of reason, while they weaken or destroy confidence in some old dogmas of religion, tend to strengthen faith in the great truths of revelation, we see no sign of depravity in confessing the result. Pride and obstinacy may be exhibited in clinging to old dogmas rooted in education and prejudice, as well as in the confession of a change of opinions. Unitarian tendencies bid fair to become so familiar, that there will be more to bear their reproach and fewer to pronounce it upon them. At any rate, Unitarianism, to those to whom it is a spectre, is one which they have never succeeded in laying. It starts up in strange places, and shows itself under a bishop's lawn, in the robes and surplices of Episcopal clergymen and Oxford Fellows. The same heresy, manifesting itself in a new compilation of psalms and hymns for public worship among the Orthodox Dissenters in England, has opened a sharper controversy in their own fellowship than they have ever waged with us. "The *Rivulet* School," so called, from the title of the new hymn-book, is now said to embrace a large number of the most earnest and able of the reputed Orthodox divines among the Dissenters. The British Banner, and other organs of the Three Denominations, are filled with high-tempered discussions about this constantly intruding heresy of Unitarianism. The current number of the British Quarterly, an Orthodox review, in an article on the Life of the late Dr. Wardlaw, says, in reference to recent Unitarian manifestations among the "Evangelical Dissenters": "It is true, that, in so far as they are at all tangible, these appearances go within a small compass at present. But it is not necessary that these small beginnings should continue small. As the religion of a sect, Unitarianism is feeble, — feebler relatively than it was in the days of Kippis and Priestley [which is not true]; but as a complexion of thought, tending to affect the opinions of reading men on religious subjects, it is widely diffused, and by no means contemptible. The open profession of Socinianism is a very harmless affair; the secret leaven of it, beyond that

circle, is another matter." These sentences are quoted in another Orthodox periodical, which adds the following: "The chief danger from Unitarians is not from Unitarianism embodied in a sect, but from its secret and gradual spread among those who do not adopt the name."

What we have thus so frankly avowed, touching our own opinions as to the conditions of intelligent thought and religious sentiment, which, when combined in fair proportion, are sure to result in the adoption and firm belief of Unitarian views, indicates our hope for the future, as well as our interpretation of the past and the present. Unitarian views of Christianity will advance in a single mind, in a community, and in Christendom, according as that combination and co-working of the ingredients of intelligence and earnest faith exists and strengthens itself. Unitarian views will decline wherever those united and well-proportioned means for attaining satisfying convictions of religion are not brought to their work. According as either reason or faith yields its just office, or usurps the rights of its co-worker, will the question be decided as to what shall serve as a substitute for Unitarianism. If the pride of reason, and the restlessness of the intellect, and the sceptical tendencies of an undevout mind, reject the control and guidance of the spiritual nature, unbelief will find a welcome and a sad triumph. If reason is denied its rights, and is bid to humble itself before dogmas that are insisted upon, notwithstanding they shock and confound the reason, if an intelligent and inquisitive mind is forbidden to try its tests upon the evidences and doctrines of revelation, and if these conditions are yielded by those who are still willing to believe, — then the various forms of the Christian faith which have prevailed under those conditions in past ages will retain or regain their hold. Those who, like some converts from Protestantism to Romanism, say that they do not wish to use their own freedom of speculation, nor to depend upon their own judgment in matters of faith, will turn back to the old Church because it offers them *authority*. Reason could not receive a more direct slight and outrage than is visited upon it by some who, with this plea, commit themselves to the guidance of a yearning sentiment, a longing for a religious refuge without bestowing due thought

upon the rightful grounds of the very *authority* which they value. Reason would suggest, that, if an authoritative church is to be sought as a refuge from the conflicts of speculation and private judgment, the mind should first use its best efforts in testing the claims to such authority. What has the Roman Church to show for its credentials? What *authority* has it for demanding and exercising its assumed prerogative in matters of faith? Certainly the *claim* of authority is no sufficient *warrant* of it. Such converts to Romanism as have tried to test the rightfulness of its claims by Scripture and history have not really renounced their private judgment, as they pretend to have done. On the contrary, they have set their reasoning powers upon one of the severest and most serious tasks, and, by resting in the result to which they have been conducted, they have allowed *reason* to settle their relations to faith. Those converts who have submitted to the authority of the Roman Church without challenging the grounds on which it claims that authority, have simply deceived themselves. They can have no assurance of the lawfulness and security of the very authority under which they seek a refuge. A fair and just process of their reason, applied to an examination of the foundations of Romanism, might prove to them that the stupendous fabric is a fraud or a fiction.

Reliable English journals assert that there are three millions, at least, of the full-grown men and women of Great Britain in avowed or real sympathy with the new sect of Secularists. The epithet is preferred to that of Atheists, because of the prejudices said to attach to the latter title, as indicating immorality and recklessness of life, as well as a lack of religious belief. The Secularists, not recognizing a life to come, nor any motives or influences drawn from spiritual or heavenly sanctions, maintain that reason and science are sufficient guides, and that the relations of this life give sufficient warrant to virtue. Here we have reason usurping more than its rightful prerogative, and violently crushing out the natural instincts and yearnings of faith. For even science teaches us that this earth is dependent upon and is controlled by heavenly influences, and would be a wreck if cut off from the resources and the sway of the upper

realm. Analogy followed out even by reason, to say nothing of faith, would suggest that man and man's life may need to recognize a dependence upon unseen powers and mysterious influences.

While Romanism thus requires an implicit faith, and Secularism makes an idol of reason, the popular standards of Orthodoxy treat reason with degrees of slight and violence according as they strain or relax the sharper conditions of the Orthodox creed. Dr. Edward Beecher has frankly affirmed that the doctrines of Orthodoxy are utterly inconsistent and irreconcilable with the principles of honor and justice in the Divine government. If this be so, and of course we believe it, then the Orthodox creed must outrage human reason. We cannot believe, without violence to our reason, that our Heavenly Father has called all the human race since Adam into existence with a disabled nature, requiring of them at the same time a holiness which only a perfect nature could manifest, and condemning them to eternal woe because of their inability, either moral or physical, to obey him. Reason protests against such a doctrine; and if it were found in the Bible, the issue would be whether the warrant of the Bible substantiated the doctrine, or whether the doctrine disproved the claims of the Bible. Orthodoxy pleads that reason must humble itself before such humbling doctrines, and receive them as coming from God. Unitarianism insists that the Bible should be thoroughly tested by reason; that the same reasoning powers which we trust in other matters, recognizing humility, reverence, and faith as guides in their exercise, should sit in judgment upon the doctrines offered to our belief. Finding no such doctrines in the Bible, Unitarianism rests in the harmony between reason and faith, and proclaims that an intelligent piety may live and thrive in what is called Liberal Christianity.

Our opponents assert that there is relatively less of Unitarianism in our immediate neighborhood than there was twenty or forty years ago. It may be so. And it may be that there is relatively less of some other good things here. It must certainly be granted, that, if the old tests and tokens and outward manifestations of an interest in theological speculations and in spiritual truths were fair and reliable, as indicating the real amount of

religious faith and zeal in the community at large, there has been a real decline of piety among all denominations. Whether there are not other and better tests of true piety, the application of which would prove an advance in the sentiment and practice of true religion, is a question on which we will not enter. There is a condition, one essential condition, under which Orthodoxy may succeed here or elsewhere in repressing Unitarianism and Unitarian tendencies. It is by persuading men and women to accept a religious creed founded on revelation, with a full consent to forego the freest exercise of their reason, their intellects, in view of the superior demands of faith. Orthodoxy must persuade us that this is necessary, and must induce us to comply with it. It must insist upon the formula, *Fides ante intellectum*, almost in the sense of *digestion before eating*. Orthodox criticism has to admit errors of various kinds in the Bible, but requires us nevertheless to believe in its plenary inspiration and infallibility. Reason is staggered. Reason must consent to be staggered, that it may pay lawful homage to faith. Orthodoxy requires us to believe that on account of Adam's sin all human beings who have been born since have an impaired ability as regards the demands of God's law, but still are held rigidly to those demands, and are subject to the penalty of disobedience. Reason wishes to ask if God's ways are "equal" in this respect. But Reason is reminded that she has nothing to do with the matter. Orthodoxy requires us to believe that Christ the Mediator, who referred all his power to the Being whom he bade us worship as the Father, is still the very God who he says sent him into the world. Reason is prompted to try to reconcile the terms of these statements, and, failing in the trial, is distrustful. But Reason is told that she is trespassing upon what is beyond her province. Orthodoxy teaches us that penitent sinners could not be pardoned through God's mercy without the vicarious sacrifice of a victim, because the Divine Word had threatened, "*The soul that sinneth, it shall die!*" Reason asks how the Divine veracity is vindicated by the scheme, seeing that the threat is not fulfilled *on the sinner*, but that the penalty is evaded. But Reason is bidden to humble herself before the mystery of mysteries. Reason is even denied

the privilege of trying her own rigid methods to discover whether these Orthodox doctrines are really taught in the Bible. Indeed, every suggestion of Reason, to the effect that possibly erroneous interpretations and mistaken notions may have been applied to the Bible, is visited with a reproaching denial. Now if reason in all men and women, here and elsewhere, can be induced thus to forego all its instinctive and intelligent impulses to comprehend and ratify and clear up the subjects offered to faith, and will admit that this is a *reasonable* condition for revelation to require, then Unitarianism will be utterly extirpated. If all our race can be made to assent to that condition, then all our race will be Orthodox Christians. If that theory of faith be the only theory offered, and no one challenges it, while human beings are left free to believe or not to believe on those terms, there will be many Orthodox Christians, but there will also be an innumerable host of "infidels." If we are asked to account for the fact, that the majority of professed Christians have been Orthodox, we answer, that it is because the majority have been persuaded to yield up the freest exercise of their reasoning or intellectual powers in deference to the supposed exactions of faith. In other words, and with a changed application, the same explanation which comforts our Orthodox Protestant brethren under the fact that the majority of professed Christians are Roman Catholics, comforts us also in view of our minority as respects other Protestants. Orthodoxy then can repress Unitarianism by bringing about a change in the proportions of free intelligent speculation and living devotional sentiment, which, when they are brought to bear upon the Scriptures, have always heretofore made men and women to be Unitarian Christians. But after Unitarianism had been thus killed out, it would be sure to reappear in an individual or in a community the moment that reason and faith in fairly proportioned combination and action were freely exercised upon the Scriptures. The result will be as sure as will be the appearance of water when we bring together eight parts of oxygen and one of hydrogen. The condition on which Orthodoxy may thus extirpate the Unitarian heresy may thus be very simply stated, whatever be the probability that the result will ever be realized, or

the degree of difficulty in the way of reaching it. Orthodoxy must prevent the birth and the growing up of *the sort of persons*, men and women, that are sure to be or to become Unitarians. Such developments of the intellectual and spiritual nature of human beings as inevitably result in the adoption of Unitarian views by persons otherwise quite unlike each other, must be made impossible. Let Orthodoxy take a miscellaneous collection of persons whose biographies are within easy reach, and who, having been trained under Orthodoxy, became Unitarians; for instance, the biographies of Sir Isaac Newton, John Locke, President John Adams, Dr. Mayhew, Judge Story, Dr. Channing, J. S. Buckminster, Henry Ware, Mrs. Mary L. Ware, Sylvester Judd, and C. M. Taggart. Let the relationship between the inquisitive processes of the well-trained and freely searching mind, and the longing instincts of the soul for a living confidence in spiritual truths, which led the subjects of all those memoirs to become thoroughly convinced, earnest, happy, and consistent Unitarians, be fairly understood. The secret of Unitarianism is bound up in that inquiry. Let Orthodoxy master the secret. Then if Orthodoxy can make such a use of its discovery as to prevent such an exercise of such a relationship between reason and faith in all coming generations, it will annihilate Unitarianism. The process may seem formidable, but it is the only one that is available. Our own opinion is, that Orthodoxy will find labor enough of this kind within its own fellowships, at the present time.

In closing this train of remark, it can hardly be necessary for us to repeat our assertion, that we do not deny the union of the most profound piety and the loftiest intelligence in men and women shining with every Christian grace, whom Orthodoxy claims as among her jewels. Well may she be proud of them, and we will join in paying to them the tribute of our gratitude and homage. Our position has been just this, and no more, — that, when with a humble and devout spirit, yearning for true faith in God as revealed by Jesus, the mind is able and disposed to exercise all its faculties upon the medium and the substance of that revelation, and feels free to indulge its reasoning powers upon everything

which is offered to faith, the result is Unitarianism, or a tendency to Unitarianism. We know of no single fact better attested than that, by all our religious literature, and by experience in various parts of Christendom and in all classes of believing men and women. We anticipate the protest, the denial, which Orthodoxy will raise against the assertion. But we calmly and firmly aver, that the grounds of our conviction are such that Orthodoxy cannot shake them.

There has been, and is, something very peculiar in the experience of Unitarian ministers in this and in other communities which has never been sufficiently allowed for. The older members of our societies were all of them in their youth under the teaching of Orthodoxy. Orthodoxy does meet the religious wants, and engage the sensibilities, and satisfy the spiritual cravings, of a class of persons in every community. But Orthodoxy always leaves wholly unreached and unsatisfied another class of persons just as sincere and devout and faithful, — so far as the eye of man can discern, — as are the converts to the old creed. Yet more, there are some who tell us that the balance of confidence, of respect, of neighborly reliance and dependence for the various services of life, is far from being on the side of those who have been sealed by the testimony of Orthodoxy. Some who have had large occasion to draw on the sympathy, the forbearance, the service, and the pecuniary aid of others, in the straits of business, in bankruptcy, in misfortune and sickness, have proclaimed that the "world's people" are found at least as reliable and merciful in such emergencies as "the elect." A communication in the Presbyterian newspaper, quite recently, astounded us with the avowal, that it gave no assurance to confidence in a man in the walks of business that he belonged to "an evangelical church." We hope we make no trespass upon fair charity when we simply recognize the fact, that some not severe judges of their fellow-men cannot help believing that there is an element in the Orthodox doctrine which impairs the stringency and the solemnity of individual responsibility. How can a human being believe that he has been ruined by the sin of one, and is to be saved by the righteousness of another, without realizing a shock of confusion in all his ideas of

private accountability? For these and other reasons, Orthodoxy always leaves some who are as sincere and devout as its best converts utterly unreached by all its appeals and methods. Some, too, who once accepted its doctrines and adorned its communion, lose their faith in its peculiar elements, and crave a higher, freer, religious life. Now experience has proved that very many who are not satisfied with Orthodox views or who have outgrown their faith in them, and are repelled by them as false and of an injurious tendency, are always made more difficult of religious impression. Their early training has warped or prejudiced their religious nature. They are often made sceptical for life by this process. Their childhood seems dreary to them in memory. Their early religious instruction comes back to them as superstitious and forbidding. Then, too, there is a grotesqueness and sometimes a spirit of grim satire and ridicule associated in the minds of the irreverent with themes and nursery recollections that ought to be bedewed in later life with the very holiest and most melting power for the heart. That strange little primer of the childhood of our fathers was even harder in its association of subjects than in its rhymes. Capital B, standing by the Bible, sustained a noble burden in the lines: "Thy life to mend, God's Book attend." But capital C came next, with Tabby and her two little victims singing the burden: "The Cat doth play, And after slay." The wit of some young sinner against reverence and grammar added to the legend on capital A, "In Adam's Fall, We sinned all," the strictly Calvinistic comfort: "Christ Jesus come, To save some." Some of the biographies to which we have just referred tell us how sad at heart and almost unbelieving the subjects of them were made, how alienated from the joy and fervor of all earnest, soul-quickenings faith, by the form in which Christianity was presented to them in their early years. By the help of an intelligent and a devout study of the Bible they worked their way out of the dreary vapors of a Calvinistic education, and it became afterwards the joy of their lives to indulge the liberty in which Christ had made them free. But our communities still contain multitudes whom Orthodox views have rendered sceptical,—hard to impress religiously. Ortho-

doxy takes up those of easiest sensibility and conviction, and leaves the hardest subjects to Unitarianism.

We often turn over in our minds the question, whether the number of those who really believe and feel the power of religion — of the Gospel religion — increases proportionately to the increase of the population of Christendom. Of course the answer must be made more or less at random, according to the information and the judgment of those who are interested in the matter. This, at least, may be regarded as certain, that the number of persons in each Christian generation who believe and feel the power of religion *as the result of intelligent conviction from their own study and thought, not from authority, or fear, or superstition*, has been steadily increasing in every age. Religion has been more and more taken from the hands of priests, and men have become their own priests, their own interpreters of oracles, their own sacrificers, their own teachers in sacred things. Among a million of nominal Christians four centuries ago, there were probably not five hundred men or women who had made the foundations and the substance and the doctrines of their faith matters of their own independent inquiry and thought, through the Scriptures and history, through their nature and experience. The mass simply believed or tried to believe as they were taught, on authority. But now, out of any million of nominal Christians around us, a very large number would be found independent and intelligent thinkers, having more or less "reason for their faith," acquainted with the Bible, and able to sustain an argument for high truth. Unbelief, too, where not connected with gross vice, is more dignified and self-distrustful, less bold and violent and reckless.

We have left but narrow space for noting some of the chief distinguishing conditions of a religious faith which will engage the confidence of devout and intelligent persons, under the present aspects of life.

The first of all the requisites in such a religion is that it shall be Liberal. We *mention* this condition even before that of Truth, because a religion that is not liberal cannot be true. The devout and intelligent demand a liberal religion, a religion large, free, generous, comprehensive in its lessons, a religion expansive in its spirit, lofty

in its views, and with a sweep of blessings as wide as the range of man's necessities and sins. This is what is meant by a Liberal Religion, or Liberal views of religion, or Liberal Christianity. An attempt is made at the very start to prejudice this liberal view of religion by giving to it a bad name, and by assigning to it an unsanctified purpose. Some persons would interpret Liberality in a religious creed as meaning laxness, looseness, as making things easy for easy consciences, as letting down the high demands of righteousness, and as taking light and dangerous views of duty and sin and man's future destiny. This is a perversion, a false charge. Under a liberal religion the utmost seriousness and solemnity of feeling, and the strictest laws of moral conduct and religious responsibility, find at least an equal sanction with what they do under narrow, cramped, and illiberal views of religion, if not a higher one. Liberal views of religion do not exclude the just workings of the wrath of a holy God from this world; nor do they by any means require the teaching that death is salvation for everybody, and that there is no state of hell beyond the grave. It is not in order to obtain a license for sin or excuses for folly, or to diminish the pains and penalties of unrighteousness towards God or man, that we demand a large and generous and comprehensive faith. It is that we may free the Deity and his attributes and his government from all those offensive and degrading and enslaving notions which false opinions have gathered about them. It is that we may have a faith that can radiate the whole space up to heaven, and shine benignantly over the earth, and interpret largely and gratefully, seriously and confidently, the will and purposes of God towards man. We want a faith so generous and forbearing and merciful in its delineations of the Father of our poor, sinning, dying race, that it will shame every mean outrage which we through our own passions inflict upon a brother-man, — a faith that will not only open a loophole for our exit from the pit of condemnation into a psalm-singing conference of saints, but will fling open and keep open the wide doors of a gracious clemency to catch the crowds who can at least be grateful for forgiveness.

Take now two or three illustrations of what is meant

by Liberal views of religion, in contrast with the contracted and illiberal views which have prevailed in Christian communities. These millions of human beings who live on the earth in their ever-changing generations, are they all a doomed race, born in sin, destined to eternal woe, unless rescued by a partial exercise of Divine mercy? Or are they creatures and children of a kind and good Father, born with the nature which he has pleased to give them, imperfect, frail, needing discipline, righteously governed, piteously commiserated, and so to be judged here and hereafter *by what they can themselves admit* is a perfect rule of equity? One of these views is Liberal, the other is Illiberal. One is large, generous, free, *just*; the other is dreary, hopeless, *unjust*.*

Then there is the still current form of the doctrine of Election. The word is used freely in the Scriptures, and what the word truly signifies is there too, a Scripture doctrine. But Election is never applied in the Scriptures to individuals as such distinct from a class, and it never refers to a future life. It always relates to the calling or the choice of a whole people like the Jews, and afterwards of all who should ever live under the Gospel, to the enjoyment of peculiar privileges here, in this world,

* We have taken much satisfaction, all through this series of articles, in quoting at length concessions from Orthodox sources, amounting sometimes even to rebukes of what have long passed for accepted tenets in the creed of Orthodoxy. Our readers may remember a figure of speech used on the May platforms twenty years ago, by Dr. Scudder, a returned Orthodox missionary, — of a platoon of *heathens* a mile or two broad, and three or four miles long, driving on to the pit of hell, and demanding zeal in the missionary cause to save them. In an admirable article in the North British [Scotch Church] Review for August, 1856, on Christian Missions, some stuff of a similar tenor is quoted from a recent American missionary report. Thus: "Every hour, yea, every moment, the heathen are dying, and dying, most of them, without any knowledge of the Saviour. On whom now rests the responsibility?" &c., &c., — implying that the responsibility of rescuing the heathen rests with men. The Reviewer adds: "Can this be mere *ad captandum* language, intended to draw contributions to the missionary societies? If so, it is very wicked. But if it be really genuine and sincere, how melancholy a fanaticism does it display! We shudder at the accounts of devil-worship which come to us from so many mission-fields. We pity the dreary delusion of the Manichees, who enthroned the Evil Principle in heaven. But if we proclaim that God is indeed one who could decree this more than Moloch sacrifice of the vast majority of his own creatures and children, for no fault or sin of theirs, we revive the error of the Manichee; for the God whom we preach as a destroyer of the guiltless can be no God of justice, far less a God of love," &c., &c.

during this life. Judgment and destiny were of course made dependent upon the use, the improvement, or the neglect of these privileges. Judas himself was one of the elect. "Jesus said, 'Have I not chosen you twelve?'" But this did not hinder that Judas should "go to his own place." The Jews were the "elect people," because to them was given the knowledge of the will of the true God. They were elected to enjoy the truths of religion and the blessings of a visible Divine government here in this world. But individual Jews were subject to the same righteous judgment for the use of their privileges, as were individuals not Jews for their use of lesser privileges. Future judgment would decide between the faithful and the faithless among even the elect. Christians acceded to the advantages heretofore enjoyed by the Jews as an elect people, i. e. as permitted certain precious privileges here in this world; they were not made sure of salvation in the next world merely on the score of their having been thus favored here. Thus St. Paul tells his converts, that he had prayed for them "lest their election should be vain," i. e. lest they should prove to make an unworthy use of the privileges they enjoyed. How could their election *be vain* if it insured their future salvation? So also he exhorts his converts "to make their calling and election sure," evidently proving that *election* means the enjoyment of opportunities here, on the right improvement of which depended the promised reward hereafter.

But now observe, by contrast, what a shocking perversion has been made of this doctrine of Election by an illiberal theology. It has been interpreted as meaning this: That, ages before we were born, God, of his own sovereign partiality, or—as says the New England Confession of Faith—"out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions or causes moving him thereunto," chose some of his children for salvation, put their names upon a record, and as these appear in their generations makes them by his Holy Spirit the subjects of renewal and the heirs of bliss. The Confession adds: "This effectual call is of God's free and especial grace alone, not from

anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein." "The rest of mankind God was pleased to ordain to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice." After this shocking parody of a noble and reasonable Scripture doctrine had been established in the popular faith, as an element of Calvinism, there arose a question as to the terms and conditions of this election. Arminius ventured to suggest that God *elects* for salvation those who he *foresaw* would improve the means of grace; and that he thus had respect to their obedience and good works. This suggestion, which carries us half-way back to the true Scripture doctrine, was an attempt to let in one ray of reason upon the Calvinistic dogma. But it was denounced as a heresy, and is so regarded to this day, under the name of Arminianism,—the real Orthodox doctrine being that God, in electing the heirs of his grace from all eternity, has no reference whatever to their merits or obedience, but acts entirely according to the sovereign pleasure of his will. Now we call this an illiberal, a contracted, a narrow and unworthy doctrine, besides being a perversion of the true Scripture view of *Election*. It gives us a most illiberal and grovelling representation of God and of his government. In contrast with this, the liberal, the Scripture view is that God knows no such partiality, no such favoritism, but puts each one of his children on an equality as regards the future, by judging them righteously according to the good or the bad use which they make of their various privileges and opportunities.

Then follow this distinction between a liberal or an illiberal theology into the doctrine of the Atonement, or the work of reconciliation by Jesus Christ. Is the efficacy of Christ's death limited to a portion of our race, or free for the advantage of all? Calvinism originally taught a limited atonement. New-School Orthodoxy professes to believe in an unlimited, unrestricted efficacy of the death of Christ as a ground for proffering salvation to all. But how do the two parties explain themselves on this difference between them? The advocates of the limited atonement maintain that Christ's death is of service only to those *whom he actually saves*. The advocates of an unlimited atonement come, in fact,

to the same result; for they teach that though all have the offer of salvation through Christ, though all are called by him, yet that the renewing work of the Holy Spirit, which alone can dispose the sinful heart to avail itself of this offer, is wrought only upon the heirs of salvation. The agency of the third person of the Trinity, which is necessary to render the work of the second person of the Trinity of efficacy to individuals, is not as extensive as the benefit of the Atonement. The offer is made to all; but the ability to accept it, to avail of it, is not granted to all, but only to a portion of those who live under the Gospel. The Atonement is *sufficient* for all; but it is *efficient* for only a portion of our race. What, then, is the difference in the real substance of the matter between these two Orthodox parties as to a limited or an unlimited Atonement? Nothing at all. We call their view, then, an element of an illiberal theology. A liberal theology insists that the love and offers of God through Christ should be construed in the largest, freest sense; that the work of the Spirit, which makes the proffer of reconciliation available, should be as unrestricted as the grace of God and the mediation of the Saviour in providing the means of it for all.

Once more, what says a liberal theology, in contrast with an illiberal theology, in reference to the whole work of religion on the heart and life,—the substantial tests and tokens of a Christian character,—the proof that any one is in the way of salvation? An illiberal theology exalts a creed, a speculative opinion, into prominent importance as a test. A liberal theology subordinates opinion to the prior significance of a pure and faithful, a devoted and useful life, conformed to the practical precepts of the Master. Whatever tests we refer to Almighty Wisdom for the judgment of men here or hereafter, must be such as will impress us with a sense of their absolute justice, such as we can ourselves confide in, and can apply rigidly. If our faith in these tests falters, they will bring down all our religion. The progress of independent thought and inquiry applied to religion has brought about much the same results as have followed from political strifes and convulsions, all the world over. It has led men to demand their impartial rights, to insist upon an independence of soul, upon im-

partial laws, and upon a destruction of all class privileges. There have been forms of religion in the world, and even under the name of Christianity, which have corresponded to all the forms of government, the patriarchal, the priestly, the tyrannical, the despotic, the monarchical, the aristocratic, and the constitutional. The latest struggles and developments of religion demand a pure independency, a democracy. No longer can we ascribe to the Divine rule over us an arbitrary election and reprobation, by which some persons, not one whit different in life and character from some of their neighbors, may claim to have been the subjects of a mysterious change, sealing them for heavenly bliss, while the rest of the world is left to perdition. "A just weight and balance are the Lord's." Thoughtful, earnest, and devout minds now demand a liberal religion. Liberal in the honest, pure, and noble sense of that word. Not liberal in the sense of license, recklessness, or indifference; not in turning the sanctities of heaven into the streets, nor in making a scoff of holy restraints and solemn mysteries. Not liberal as the worldling or the fool uses the word, for overthrowing all distinctions, and reducing life to a revel or a riot. The demand is for a liberality which will leave the soul uncramped and untortured in working upon the solemn problems of divinity, and casting its conceptions of a future state, and interpreting the ways of God to men,—insuring a large, free, strong, and sanctifying faith. Such a faith cannot afford to raise an issue with reason on a single point, so far as their road on the highway of truth will allow them to keep company together. When they part for faith to advance beyond reason, they must part in perfect harmony.

A second prime requisite in a religion that shall satisfy thoughtful, earnest, and devout persons is that it shall have authority,—the authority of positive, reliable truth. It must have a firm basis, a solid foundation. We have learned in this age of the world the utmost limit of man's attempts to work his way by mere human wisdom, by philosophy, by science, or any other exercise of his own ingenuity. We want something better than these, something more stable, more satisfactory, something that has authority. Man is better at guessing

than in any other exercise of his faculties; and in accepting the results of his guessing faculty, he often forgets the risks of the process by which he attained them. Man can conjure up all sorts of notions about himself, and about all the mysteries which surround him, — the mysteries in which he lives, of which he thinks, of which he feels the solemn power, and especially of that mystery which he himself is. Man can construct theories of his own about everything, and so about religion, and sometimes he can believe his own theories, and find strength and comfort and hope in them. But notwithstanding all this, a religion which is to satisfy a thoughtful, earnest, and devout person must have authority over and above and outside of his own thinking and reasoning powers, his own guesses or fancies, his own knowledge or wisdom. The inmost soul within him is capable of answering to divine truth; but it must be *divine truth*, not human imaginations or guessings, that will move the secret depths of that soul.

What, then, is the authority of the true Christian religion, and who gave it that authority? The revelation of God's will made by Christ has two chief mediums of addressing itself to us, of communicating to us its lessons, its substance, its design, and its proof. One of these is in the record of the revelation in the New Testament. The other is in the actual presence of the workings and effects of that religion in the world, for ages, — its institutions, its experimental trial, the illustrations of its influence, the manner of its operation in an infinite variety of cases and ways. We search and try according to our ability both these sources of knowledge about our religion, and we ask whether we find in them tokens of a divine authority before which our souls should bow? Can our faith seize on them with a bold and joyful confidence, leading us to say, with the first two disciples, "We have found the Messiah, the true messenger of the Covenant, one whom we can believe and love, and follow as he guides us through this world, with the hope of a purer and a holier life to come"? There is room still left for our speculations and our guesses. All the questions which the mind asks are not settled once for all, when we find something that has for us the authority of heaven-taught truth. We may still debate

matters of evidence, and matters of doctrine, and mysteries of faith. There is still a range for free speculation as to the shape or the point at which we will frame our spirits to accept the mysterious, the inexplicable, the supra-rational elements of religion. But the main question after all is, Have we faith? Have we found something which wins and holds our confidence,—something which we can believe, something which we do believe as our lives, something that has authority for us?

We all know that the very foundations of faith are unsettled for multitudes around us, and that on this account the Gospel has not the authority of truth for them. A great many influences may contribute to cause this lack of faith. Ignorance, conceit, bewilderment of mind, honest perplexity, prejudice, the distractions of religious controversy, the varieties of belief and opinion,—all these causes, besides real worldliness or wickedness of heart and life, pride, indifference, wrong biases of character, and obstinacy of spirit, may help to account for scepticism and all irreligion. Various remedies also may be applied to remove these obstacles to faith in the authority of revelation. Good advice, good books, argument, appeal, may all be of service. Still there is a condition paramount to all others, on which alone any one can be made to feel the authority of Christian truth. He must put himself in the attitude of a pupil, at the feet of its Teacher. He must realize the existence within him of a believing faculty, which is to dispose him to receive convictions through his spiritual nature when his mental powers have reached their limits in exploring the field of truth. His heart must be reverently ordered into a humble frame; his ear must listen, that he may be in a state to attend to the voice of God, should God speak to him. He is asking whether there is in this world, available for his use, a doctrine and method of religion worthy of being referred to God as its source, and suited to renew and purify and sanctify all the elements of his own life. That question must be submitted to the personal consciousness and experience of every human being. No one can answer it for another. The answer to it decides for each one whether the Gospel has to him the authority of truth. Jesus taught as having this authority. His hearers could understand him.

They felt, they appreciated, this quality of his teachings. They were impressed by the marked contrast between the substance, the tone, and the weight of his lessons, and those which they had been in the habit of hearing from quibbling scribes, and word-splitting doctors, and ingenious lawyers, with all their fanciful interpretations and silly traditions and weak conceits, so debilitating to the healthful energies of a craving religious soul. We want a religion which has *authority*, evidences and demonstrations, sanctions and solemnities, befitting a doctrine which claims to rule our spirits and to guide our lives, to minister to our sins and sorrows, our fears and hopes.

A third and last requisite which we may mention, in a religion that will meet the wants of thoughtful, earnest, and devout persons, is that of a living, practical power to promote true holiness, to work on the springs of character, to foster ardent piety in the soul of a believer, and to cultivate benevolence and virtue in his life. This is the final test of all true religion. There is no more deplorable, dreary thing on this earth, than a lifeless faith, a cold, torpid, indifferent religion. We want a faith by which we can live, which shall be the energy of our own lives, which will continually excite the depths of our being, and move us to fidelity, and be hourly rebuking our worldliness and sinfulness. We want a cheerful faith, — a faith which will make us kind and generous and unselfish and happy. Professed Christians, the church-members in some communions, under some forms of faith, in their way of regarding and treating those who do not belong to them, have seemed to think that a line of separation has been drawn by their creed between them and their fellow-creatures for all eternity. If in a humble and thoroughly self-searching spirit they were to ask themselves what quality the pure eye of God discerns in them to distinguish between them and all others in the allotments of the everlasting retributions of a future life, they might be perplexed to answer the question. The old stereotyped answer, that they rely upon their faith in the merits of Christ, will not do now-a-days, unless it is translated into the intelligible language of practical common-sense. They consider themselves as the saved, and all others as the lost. They

resemble those who clutch at the long-boat of a sinking ship loaded with passengers, and row off, leaving their former companions to a fearful fate. Now a religion which regards the vast proportion of human beings as under the curse of God, doomed for ever, may perhaps lead to a sort of holy horror or a dismal pity towards them, but cannot excite a love and tenderness and mercy and devotion like that of Christ.

Not in a censorious spirit, if we know our own heart, but in mortified sadness at seeing the short-comings of a religion which ought to live and act with all the genial energies of a glowing flame of universal love in a community, and attract every well-disposed heart to its high work, would we venture to hint at facts which our own professional biases might dispose us to palliate. Take the body of communicants, the church-fellowship in some of our town or village parishes, where the spirit of an ungenial religion rules supreme, and ask what attraction that covenanted circle has for many generous-hearted, warm-souled young persons of either sex? They know very well that the "Church" includes some most excellent men and women, wearing every winning grace of piety and love; persons whose naturally amiable characters have been called out and refined by pure religion, or have helped to temper the austerities of a repulsive creed. But such persons, unfortunately, do not make up the whole Church, nor furnish the standard which exhausts the prime conditions for admission to it. The young know very well that there are some exceedingly hard, uninteresting, and forbidding members among the foremost in such communions,—sour-visaged, scandal-loving, morose old women, and men whose sharpness at a bargain proves that the eye opened on another world has lost none of its keenness for this. The exercises which engage these fellowships in their meetings have often a clammy or sombre character, a grim and dreary aspect, to the young. And so the "vestry" assemblies for conference, held generally in the cellar of a meeting-house, draw together for the most part those who have long shared all the privileges there offered. The young are not attracted by a religion which makes such an exposition of itself and its prominent disciples. And so the current of the world sweeps by the Church. Hearts that yearn for some kind

of fellowship,—fellowship too in works of love, of mutual benefit and extensive benevolence,—the very works which the Christian Church ought to be foremost in instigating and serving,—are driven to organize all sorts of odd-fellowships, and semi-charitable associations. The masses of the tempted, the indifferent, the pleasure-seeking, and the industrious and well-disposed, pass by these basement conference-meetings, catching perhaps the burden of a psalm-tune, but with no drawings to dispose them to enter. When religious movements are brought to bear upon vigorous young men, it is often by a sort of intriguing, scheming policy, which will hardly bear looking at very closely. “Young Men’s Christian Associations” are formed; but if we scan one of them in a procession or a meeting, the number of the gray-headed among them opens the unpleasant suggestion, that a too generous interpretation is given to the word *young*, for the sake of showing force and strength. Some zealous ministers will be debating some religious or sectarian project, when a shrewd one among them will suggest, that, after the plan has been agreed upon, it will be well to have it announced and carried on under the auspices of the Young Men’s Association. So, after due preparation, the community is informed that the Young Men’s Christian Association, in this or that town or city, have determined upon this or that. Painful and mortifying is it to a true lover of his country, to learn how much of unworthy manœuvring and blinding artifice now passes under the title of “wire-pulling.” Sadder yet is it to realize, that something of the same ingenuity, under disguises, is availed of to make it appear that pure religion has more real sway in the hearts and enterprises of men than it actually exercises. One result is, that a large body of persons who claim to be the very leaders and supporters of movements undeniably belonging to the work of the Christian Church, boast themselves as come-outers from it.

Here certainly are facts which, without needing the embitterment of a sectarian or a sarcastic spirit, convey a severe reproach to every professed Christian, rebuking him for his own share of blame for a state of things which ought not to exist. We will not concentrate this reproach upon Orthodoxy, and meanly boast that our own faith exonerates us from all participation

in it. We feel our own short-comings, we know those of our own religious fellowship, too painfully, to allow even the intimation that Unitarianism has shamed by its vigorous spirit and practice of benevolence all other forms of sectarian Christianity. We may, however, accept, as affording a ray of comfort, what has been visited upon us in censure, — the fact that we have emphasized in our communion the duties of benevolence, philanthropy, practical righteousness, and virtue. When the Rev. H. W. Beecher published last year his large volume of Hymns for Public Worship in his congregation in "Plymouth Church," he was severely assailed by reviewers in his own Orthodox communions for having drawn some of his pieces from Unitarian and other heretical sources. His justification was most significant. He wished his book to embrace hymns adapted for use on occasions of a benevolent, reformatory, and philanthropic character, — hymns baptized in the spirit of a merciful, humane, and loving faith. *For these he was compelled to draw on heretical sources*, the Orthodox collections not furnishing the requisite material. So far as this fact avails, we will use it, in closing, not as a compliment to heresy, nor for a poor boast, but to plead for that much-neglected element in religion, — that which includes the cheerful, the humane, the genial, the merciful, — that which ministers to man's wants and woes in this world, as well as opens the hope of another.

G. E. E.

* * * A writer in some recent numbers of the Puritan Recorder, a weekly religious newspaper published in this city, has communicated a series of papers referring to these Articles on the points in controversy between Unitarianism and Orthodoxy. Probably the brevity which that critic was compelled to study in his contributions will account for the very imperfect and not always correct way in which he has presented the substance of these Articles to a class of readers, who are not likely to supply in favor of Unitarianism any of his omissions. Some few points, not the most emphatic nor the most important, are selected from these Articles for remarks in the way of answer; and these remarks by no means cover the points to which they are addressed. The substance of the papers, with a reference to any matters in them which require notice, will be incorporated in an Appendix to the volume in which the publishers propose soon to include these Articles.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Sermons for the People. By F. D. HUNTINGTON, D.D., Preacher to the University, and Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in the College, at Cambridge. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 468.

THERE are sermons here which could come only from a devout mind and heart, and which must carry a good influence and a new impulse to the minds and hearts of those who read them. Let them be read with the spirit that pervades them, — a spirit of humble and practical piety, — and, whatever may be thought of them in a critical point of view, they cannot fail to edify.

For ourselves, we have no criticism to offer. Had we taken up the volume with that purpose, the purpose would have been changed as we saw how little the writer himself has labored for any effect but that of religious impression, either in the composition or the selection of these discourses. If we confined ourselves to the few that are doctrinal, it might be easy to raise questions, to point out what seem to us errors of reasoning, and to show where we should call for qualification, or declare a difference. But even in these cases, as on the subject of the "Divinity of Christ," and the "Doctrine of the Spirit," the temper is so much more than the logic, and the whole aim so spiritual, that it seems to us the impression upon the heart must be good, whatever the doctrinal difference. Indeed, the writer himself appears to attach much less importance to doctrinal statement and distinction, than to practical truth and spiritual influence. He distinctly says, in a passage which shows the prevailing character of his sermons in this volume: "We cannot be wrong — if there is such a thing as truth in God's universe, we must be right — in esteeming one palpable and ponderable action in Christ's name before a library of dogmatic *credos*, subscription to the straitest ecclesiastical vows, or the handsomest adjustment of the mantle of public conformity. If we must have one without the other, an acre of statement must be let go rather than an ounce of life."

Among the discourses that may be particularly commended to the reader are those entitled "Homeward Steps," "Acceptance of the Heart," "The Law of the House," "Trials of Faith," "The Hidden Life," and "The Word of Life, a Living Ministry and a Living Church," the last being an occasional discourse preached, in 1853, before the graduating class of the Meadville Theological School. There are other occasional discourses,

some of which had been before published. One, written for Fast-day in 1851, soon after the passage of the "Fugitive Slave Law," is on "National Retribution, and the National Sin"; and had every preacher spoken as plainly and strongly at that time, we might have escaped some of the terrible evils that we are now suffering. Dr. Huntington says truly, in language worthy to be repeated now, that there is a large class of men among us, "who always have been, and resolutely propose to be, loyal subjects to the general government under which they live, unwavering friends of the union of these States, and obedient observers of the laws. . . . But they have been led, by processes within their own minds as uncontrollable as the winds of heaven, and which they honestly trace to the workings of that spirit which Christ compared to the wind that bloweth where it listeth, to contemplate every possible enslavement or re-enslavement of any human being, under any supposable array of circumstances, in this age of the world, and within the great American republic, as a terrible offence against the plain will and word of God, and against that humanity which he has made and called his child. They believe the system of negro slavery, as it exists in the United States, to be explicitly at variance with the Almighty's will and law, and with all the duty, integrity, purity, and innocent happiness of man."

A Collection of Theological Essays from Various Authors. With an Introduction by GEORGE R. NOYES, D. D., Professor of Sacred Literature in Harvard University. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1856. 12mo. pp. xlvii. and 512.

THE most remarkable phenomenon presented by this volume is that by which the Book Fund of the American Unitarian Association becomes the medium for insuring a very large circulation to Essays written by divines of the Church of England. We hail the omen. Our own pages have recently found occasion for frequent allusion to the fact, that Christian scholarship and Christian philosophy in the hands of their ablest modern disciples, were rendering service to that great cause which we regard as identical with the aim of Liberal Christianity. The spirit of sectarian bitterness has softened in all the sundered fellowships of the Christian fold. The exigencies presented by the fearless and daring speculations which have penetrated to the life-centre of a belief in revelation, have compelled its champions to a large practice of candor, and have taught them the wisdom of undertaking the defence of only that which is vital to

faith. A generous and tolerant spirit has been the result of a truly enlightened spirit in the scholar's private study, in the theologian's critical investigations, and in the classes of pupils favored with the counsels of a well-trained teacher. The auspicious results of these deep-working influences are numerous. We believe they will prepare a brighter age than has ever yet blessed the Christian Church since its first commissioned preachers announced pure Gospel truth. Among these results, not the least felicitous is that of which the volume before us is a symbol, namely, that Christian scholars and divines are now making to sacred science contributions from their maturest wisdom and piety, which are designed to bridge the chasm between those sections of the Church that were once most widely separated in faith and feeling.

Professor Noyes has here brought together some thirty contributions to theological and Scriptural science from nine different authors, whose aim was so remote from that of sectarianism that they will do double service to a truly liberal cause. Most of the *Essays* are those of Jowett and Stanley, as contained in their recent works on the Epistles of Paul, of which we have already taken cordial notice. An *Essay on Faith and Science*, by M. Guizot, is, for a translation of a French thesis, of considerable value, but hardly worthy to lead off the richer contents of the volume. Baden Powell's excellent dissertation on the Law and the Gospel, and the lucid and unanswerable exposition of the untenable character of the modern Orthodox dogma of Inspiration, by Professor Tholuck, are of great use. The *Dissertations* of Dr. Harwood and of Archbishop Newcome on the deeply mysterious themes that have found their material in analyzing the sufferings and the fortitude of Jesus Christ in his passion, will rescue those sacred subjects from the service to which they have long been put in the ingenious torturing of our sensibilities, and improve them to the sweet uses of a calm and healthful piety. The *Dissertations* of Mr. Jowett are bold and earnest. If it is found that a few more men of equal weight can follow him in his thorough and candid dealings with the old bugbears of Scripture criticism, and can still remain in the English Church, we shall expect to see our own brotherhood in England broken up, as respects anything like a visible and distinct fellowship, by a virtual invitation extended to ministers and brethren to fall back into the Establishment. The *Articles* need not stand in the way of such a result, for a very emphatic announcement will have been made, that they are not designed for anything more than articles of peace, as the moralist Paley defined them.

Professor Noyes furnishes an Introduction and a few notes to

the volume, and by these valuable additions he ratifies a formal act of adoption, at least of the spirit of the Essays, into our Theological Library. His own views are given us on subjects of paramount importance, and they come with all the weight deservedly due to the utterances of a thoroughly instructed and a most candid mind. In a few paragraphs he condenses what he regards as requisite to be said upon the most serious topics referred to in the volume. And his sayings are to be received with the deference and respect to be paid to the deliberate opinions of a man who is eminent for caution and prudence in the expression of his views, and who has for more than thirty years studied the original Scriptures with all the best aids of intelligence, thorough learning, and piety.

"It is Never Too Late to Mend." A Matter of Fact Romance. By CHARLES READE, Author of "Christie Johnstone," "Peg Woffington," etc. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1856. 16mo. pp. 423, 424.

IN this powerful sketch of a few phases of real life in our own times, Mr. Reade has amply redeemed the promise implied in his previous works. Less brilliant in coloring, it is even more vigorous in touch, and more various in interest, than either Peg Woffington or Christie Johnstone. Dealing with an entirely different set of characters, and aiming to produce a deeper and more permanent impression upon his readers, our author has achieved a still more remarkable success, and has given us a work which, though marked by some defects, must yet place him among the first English novelists of the day.

The characterization exhibits the same wide acquaintance with human nature, and the same rare insight into human motives, which were so apparent in his earlier and less elaborate productions. His men and women are neither impossible combinations of discordant qualities, nor are they mere personifications of abstract ideas. Though they are sometimes idealized and exaggerated, they are generally just such persons as we may have to deal with at almost any moment in some of the multifarious relations of life. Who, for instance, does not recognize the fidelity of the portrait of Susan Merton, — the very type of an average woman of her class? So, too, in the characters of George Fielding, the honest farmer, and of Tom Robinson, the keen-witted and sharp-eyed thief, this truth to nature is equally noticeable. Such characters as Eden, the single-hearted and devoted minister of our faith, scorning all thought

of earthly advancement, and suffering much to save the wretched inmates of a prison; Hawes, the tyrannical and bloodthirsty governor of the jail; and Meadows, a scheming villain building up wickedness even whilst cherishing some noble and generous impulses, — are more rare. Yet the character of Hawes is understood to have been drawn from life; and few will doubt that such men as Eden and Meadows may sometimes be found. The minor characters are scarcely less real and lifelike.

The plot is extremely complicated; but in its management the writer shows great judgment, and the incidents are evolved with the utmost skill and discrimination. The scenes in the jail and in Australia, in particular, are wrought out with wonderful vigor. Nowhere have we seen a more vivid picture of life in Australia, both before the discovery of gold and during the early stages of the gold fever, than is presented in these chapters. The whole story fascinates the reader with an irresistible power.

It is clear, however, from the most cursory reading, that Mr. Reade has aimed at something more than the construction of a merely interesting tale. The work bears throughout the mark of an earnest purpose; and though it can scarcely be said that the interest of the story has been subordinated to the enforcement of the moral, it cannot be doubted that a chief purpose of the author was to utter his protest against the system of solitary confinement, and to make his readers share his deep-seated indignation. We are no admirers of political disquisitions and pleas for or against any controverted system of theology and morals, or theory of social life, when presented under the guise of fiction. We object to this whole class of works upon general principles; but much may be forgiven to a writer of Mr. Reade's great powers. In the work under discussion we recognize powers of too high an order to quarrel with this expression of them.

The other prominent defects are an occasional carelessness of style, a want of repose, and a too frequent straining after dramatic effects. Nor can we on purely artistic grounds justify the long episode of jail-life under Governor Hawes. It does not contribute sufficiently to the progress of the story, and suggests the idea that it has been engrafted on the original plan. These defects and the complexity of the plot seem to indicate that Mr. Reade has not yet reached the high rank to which we believe he will certainly attain. We cannot leave this subject, we may add, without a reference to Mr. Reade's punctuation; for we are free to avow, that we have never seen a more vicious system of punctuation in any book written by a sane man.

Bothwell: a Poem. In Six Parts. By W. EDMONDSTOUNE AYTOUN, D. C. L., Author of "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers," "Bon Gualtier's Ballads," &c. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1856. 16mo. pp. 267.

THIS new poem, like some of Mr. Aytoun's previous productions, challenges criticism on two grounds, — as a poem and as a chapter of Scotch history. For in his Preface he tells us: "I wish it to be distinctly understood, that, except in minor and immaterial matters, necessary for the construction of a poem of this length, I have not deviated from what I consider to be the historical truth"; and nearly a third of the volume is filled with notes to justify the views of this period of history presented in the poem.

The form of the poem is that of a monologue, and its scene is laid in the castle of Malmoe, in the southern part of Sweden, where Bothwell spent the last part of his life in close confinement. Here he is supposed to recall to mind the story of his connection with Mary, Queen of Scots, from his first interview with her to his disgraceful flight from Carberry Hill. Considered merely as a poem, Bothwell is inferior to several of the Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers. The general plan of the poem, and the measure employed in its construction, are both open to criticism, as injudiciously chosen for a poem of this length. The versification, it is true, is almost uniformly harmonious, and there are many detached passages of great beauty. But their effect is apt to be lost in the tripping ballad measure selected by Mr. Aytoun; and his flights of fancy are not well sustained. It is easy to see that Mr. Aytoun's success in his spirited and brilliant Lays has injured his new poem, by leading him to make a similar attempt in a much longer poem, and where a more elevated tone was demanded. But even with these obvious defects, it has so much power and beauty that it will be read with pleasure by a large class of readers.

Into the vexed controversy respecting the personal character of Mary we need not enter here. We can, however, by no means recognize her claims to the spotless robes in which our author is pleased to array her. Nor are we quite ready to make so entire a sacrifice of Elizabeth as Mr. Aytoun seems disposed to permit. The question of Mary's guilt may be safely left where it was placed by Hallam and Mackintosh, the most candid of historians. Still less is it necessary to discuss the policy pursued by Elizabeth. The great Protestant queen inherited some ugly little traits from her father; but the wonder is, that she did not prove much worse under the circumstances by which she was surrounded.

The Life of General Daniel Morgan, of the Virginia Line of the Army of the United States, with Portions of his Correspondence; compiled from Authentic Sources. By JAMES GRAHAM. New York: Derby and Jackson. 1856. 12mo. pp. 475.

THE life of General Morgan is full of various and stirring interest. Born of Welsh parentage, in the winter of 1736, he commenced his military career at the age of nineteen as a wagoner in Braddock's unfortunate expedition. Upon the breaking out of our Revolutionary struggle, he led a company of riflemen to the camp at Cambridge, and soon after was sent with Arnold's expedition against Quebec. Here he exhibited great skill and bravery; but he was taken prisoner in the disastrous assault upon that city, and spent some months in captivity. Subsequently he served with distinction under Gates in the memorable campaign against Burgoyne, and contributed not a little to its successful issue. At a little later period we find him commanding a detachment in the South, where he gained the brilliant victory of Cowpens over a superior force of British and Tories under Colonel Tarleton. Not long after this achievement ill health compelled him to withdraw almost entirely from military service. After independence had been secured, and the general government had been organized, he commanded the troops raised to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection; and he was also chosen a member of Congress from Virginia. His death took place on the 6th of July, 1802.

In the preparation of his memoir of this remarkable man, Mr. Graham has had access to a large collection of original materials in the possession of the family of General Morgan, and including unpublished letters from Washington, Greene, Lafayette, Hamilton, and others. Manuscript recollections of Morgan by his friends, and other valuable sources of information, have also been open to him. From these he has prepared an extremely interesting and well-written narrative. His style is simple and perspicuous; and his selections from the mass of correspondence before him are judiciously made. Upon some points we are inclined to think that he has fallen into the too common fault of biographers, in overrating the services of his hero. Thus, in his account of the battle of Stillwater, where he differs considerably from the common authorities, he claims nearly the whole of the honor for Morgan. With this abatement, the volume must be regarded as a valuable contribution to our biographical and historical literature.

Perversion, or the Causes and Consequences of Infidelity. A Tale for the Times. By REV. W. G. CONYBEARE, M. A., Author of the "Life and Epistles of St. Paul." New York: Wiley and Halstead. 1856. 12mo. pp. 495.

THE design of this volume is praiseworthy. Its literary execution is fine. The story, long as it is, and numerous as are its characters and scenes, is never tedious, and the final verdict of most of its readers will undoubtedly be, that it is a most fascinating and remarkable novel. It certainly defines the author's position as a member of the Broad Church, a fellow with Kingsley and Maurice and Trench and Jowett, — with the party who set works above faith, and life above creeds. The general spirit and drift of the book we may commend, yet we cannot think that Mr. Conybeare has exposed all the causes, or the chief causes, of infidelity in England. These lie much deeper than the superficial follies of either High Church or Low Church, upon both of which he pours his sarcasms. The Broad Church will not cure them. For with all the nobleness of its aims, its position is essentially false. Its large pretensions, its free criticisms, cannot be made to harmonize with the formulas and the traditions to which it pretends to adhere. We cannot praise a theory of the Church which allows any measure of dishonesty, or would retain forms and phrases of which the significance has been lost.

We are not, of course, able to decide if all the absurdities which Mr. Conybeare tells of parties in his own Church are justly represented in his book. We can enjoy the scenes, even with a doubt whether there be not some exaggeration. We have read reports of ecclesiological meetings in which men as silly as the Rev. Dismal Dry have expatiated on the beauties of views as worthless as the church of Hog's Norton. And the recent numbers of the London Times show that such characters as the Rev. Messrs. Moony and Murphy are not unknown among the Evangelical brethren. If wrong has been done to these gentlemen, the organs of their Church must settle it, and doubtless Mr. Conybeare will get severe handling from those who, on one side, rely for salvation upon "rubrics," "hagioscopes," "sedilia" and altar-cloths, and those, on the other, who think that the "Armageddon Almanac," and the wars of Gog and Magog, are the weighty matters which every Christian should ponder. The portrait of the "Bishop of Tomphulia" is too marked to escape identification, and some may account the portrait of Bamem, the Romanist pervert, to be personal. No one, however, can complain that Mr. Conybeare has been partial in his showing up of religious nonsense and flummery. All sects and schools have to take it, from Hegel to the Archbishop of Tuam, and we Unitarians are not spared.

Our author has drawn upon his imagination in his portrait of the Mormon leader, Lyman, who, he says, was "formerly a Unitarian minister in New York." We are permitted to believe that one of the impossible sins of a Unitarian minister is that of turning Mormon. The "Latter-day Saints" have as yet made from Liberal Christianity no converts of sound mind enough to have ever been preachers. The only individual that we have ever heard of as an apostate from the opinions of Channing to those of Joe Smith, is the amiable man who holds the place, at Dese-ret, of United States Marshal; and he is very far from corresponding with the account of William Lyman. And in his description of the Mormons, Mr. Conybeare is not so happy as in his description of people nearer home. He rates their intellectual ability too high, and he hardly appreciates the wretchedness of their morality. There are very few Englishmen who write well when they write about facts or institutions or men in America. It seems to be characteristic of the brethren of the Broad Church, that they are able to succeed in any department of writing. Trench is a critic, an historian, a philologist, and a poet. Kingsley is a universal genius. And Conybeare has shown in this book that a man who could write carefully and critically about the early Church and its true Apostles, can write brilliantly about the present Church and its false priests. May we not expect from him next a volume of poems?

Sermons. By ALEXANDER HAMILTON VINTON, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston. Second Edition. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1856. 12mo. pp. 336.

It is pleasant to see so modest a title-page and Preface to a volume of sermons. Those whose idea of "great preaching" is a display of original speculation, new forms of thought, quaint or brilliant rhetoric, a show of various learning or various reading, sharp hits mixed with poetical quotations, and flavored with an affectation of evangelical fervor, will not call these sermons great. They have no pedantry, and very little scholarship, to recommend them. They are simple in style, and severely chaste in their ornament. They have no illustration from historic events or natural scenes, except the scenes and the events of the Bible. Their logic is far from close, often very loose and inadequate. And their theology, decided, if not thorough, Calvinism, we cannot be expected to admire. Yet they are true sermons, earnest, strong, majestic in the flow and swell of their thought, bearing onward the reader with a power which he cannot

not resist, and searching his heart by their appeals. They do what they pretend to do, exhibit religious truth to the eye, bring it home to the conscience, and commend it to the heart. They show what high rhetorical advantage a skilful Calvinistic preacher has in the contrasts of his pictures,—the law against the love of God; sinlessness with its risk, against repentance with its privilege; heaven against hell; eternal joy against eternal woe. We do not believe that the views of these discourses are the truth which is to save and enlighten the world. But we cannot help admitting that they are views which might, in such language, and with the added charm of that presence and voice which God has given to their author, move and enchain an ordinary congregation to an extraordinary degree. These discourses improve on repeated reading, and fit themselves readily to the tongue. Few preachers are able to make so excellent a present to their congregation.

Modern Greece. A Narrative of a Residence and Travels in that Country; with Observations on its Antiquities, Literature, Language, Politics, and Religion. By HENRY M. BAIRD, M. A. Illustrated by about sixty engravings. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1856. 12mo. pp. 380.

UNLIKE most voyagers in the East, who feel authorized to add the name of Greece to the comprehensive announcement of their "Travels," on the strength of a day or two at Athens or a transit of the Corinthian isthmus, Mr. Baird really gives us the record of a tour in Greece. Not in Attica only were his wanderings, but also in Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia, and Achaia. He saw the Alpheus and Olympia, the Eurotas and Sparta,—climbed Parnassus, and passed through Thermopylæ. He explored the site of every famous city and the field of every famous battle; sought on the hills the place of temples, and in the caves the place of oracles; and followed up the memorials of Greek heroes from Agamemnon to Bozzaris, from Homer to Lord Byron. His narrative of this extensive travel is readable and interesting. Without any attempt at brilliant or elaborate description, it gives a very good idea of the scenery, the customs, and the present condition of Greece. The redundant use of the first person singular is rather annoying; but this may be attributed rather to the youth and inexperience of the writer than to any inordinate vanity.

Mr. Baird's book dissipates one illusion and justifies one im-

pression, which lecturers upon Greece have taken pains to inculcate. The prevalent illusion has been that Greece is an awfully dangerous country to travel in, — all precipices and pit-falls, without roads, infested by villanous dogs and more villanous banditti, — with fever in the villages and starvation on the hills. Such was the pleasing picture which Herr Koeppen was accustomed to set before his audience. Now Mr. Baird seems to have travelled all over the country, north, south, east, and west, with no more difficulty and no more fatigue than is incident to horseback riding in an unsettled region. He *heard* of robbers, just as one hears of them in Italy, but he never saw any. And, in general, we may remark that the stories of danger in Eastern travel are three quarters idle and nonsensical. There is less risk in going from Athens to Sparta, than there is in travelling the same distance on an American railway. Mr. Baird's book is an encouragement to those who have avoided Greece as the favorite haunt of pestilence and brigands.

On the other hand, it confirms the prevalent impression that travelling in Greece does not pay, except to a near-sighted and very enthusiastic Philhellene. The spots that ought to be romantic are provokingly tame, the ruins are scanty, the rivers are dry, and the people are degraded. Delphi is a humbug. Athens, after all, is the only relic of ancient Greece which yields much satisfaction. And the sum total of Mr. Baird's book has not gathered up much more useful information than the ordinary sketches of visitors to Athens. Old Greece and New Greece alike are in that town. The University and the Acropolis are the two texts from which the whole may be written.

Mr. Baird belongs to neither of the extreme parties in his estimate of the Greek character. He does not exalt them above all people as the wonderful race, nor does he denounce them as a horde of thieves, liars, and cut-throats, the enemies of man and God. He takes the juster way of stating facts about their singular progress in intelligence and popular education, and tells the story of Dr. King's trial to illustrate their cunning and their treachery. The most valuable chapter in the book is that on "Modern Greek Literature." As a student in the University of Athens, and a friend to several of the Professors, Mr. Baird had good opportunities for writing upon this theme.

One remark we may add, in regard to the "illustrations." It is unsafe to copy from old plates the cuts for a new book. Several of these sixty pictures are untrue to the views as they now exist, — as, for instance, the gate at Mycenæ and the temple of Jupiter at Athens. The only sure way is to use the most recent photographs. We feel bound to say, that Mr. Baird's wood-cuts in no way impart a correct idea of the scenery or the monuments of Greece.

The Huguenot Exiles, or the Times of Louis XIV. A Historical Novel. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1856. 12mo. pp. 452.

THE scene of this story is laid in the province of Languedoc, in the South of France, in and around the city of Nismes. Its time is the years 1684-85, the epoch of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Its purpose is to tell the outrage and cruelty which Romish persecution brought upon the Protestants of that region. The author, who gives no hint who he or she may be, claims to state nothing but facts,—to write only the veracious tale of what his own or her own ancestors suffered. As an account of these sufferings, the book is faithful to history. The annals of the Inquisition and the story of the French religious wars have details as harrowing and terrible. But as a work of art, the book cannot be highly praised. Its incidents are badly grouped, its characters are imperfectly drawn, and its style is stilted and unnatural. All the personages, from Louis XIV. to the poor wood-cutter, use the same dialect,—women and men, high and low, Catholic and Protestant,—all talk as proper people talk in novels. The book is an accretion of horrors and miseries. We are obliged, also, to take issue with that scholarship which represents French Calvinists as followers of Luther. No such cavern, we believe, has been discovered in the neighborhood of Nismes as that which this author so elaborately describes.

Life in the Itinerancy, in its Relations to the Circuit and Station, and to the Minister's Home and Family. By ONE. New York. 1856. 12mo. pp. 335.

WE took occasion recently to express a hope that the market was glutted with narratives of pastoral affliction, and that there might be a long pause in this trying species of biography. But alas! our good Methodist brother thinks that the field has not been fully occupied, and comes forward to expose the labors, trials, and sufferings of those who would save souls on the plan of Wesley. His case does not differ much from that of other clerical martyrs. Those brethren are usually itinerants in fact, if not by system. The only difference of this book from others of the same sort which have invited us to read, sympathize, and cry shame, is a more amiable tone and a more pious phraseology. The saints are all "brother" and "sister," even when they are trying to cheat their minister out of his dues, and to injure

him by their slanderous tongues. Preaching, no matter to whom, is "standing on the walls of Zion." Preachers, too, no matter how mean and selfish, are men of God. This phraseology becomes rather ludicrous when the general character of the volume is considered, — the exhibition of the poor preacher's hopeless struggle with parochial neglect, cunning, and parsimony. The household of Zion is certainly not presented in an attractive light.

Without intending to show the evils of the Itinerancy, this book exposes the boasted superiority of that system, and shows that it hinders, instead of promoting, a minister's usefulness. Why should one poor friend, when he found a decent parish, where he was able to convert sinners, to keep good-will, and to get a comfortable living, be obliged to turn out and run himself into debt in some other parish, where his talents and character availed nothing against the tactics of the arbitrary saints? Why should the right man be taken from the right place when he has found it, and the wrong man always be sent to the wrong place? Poor Stanley evidently was fit for no charge but one where he could get along without hand work. He was too ambitious to be an Itinerant. He found it hard to give up the Quarterly Review, and impossible to give up the Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald.

A great deal too much is made of the "poor pay" of ministers. It is not great, indeed, but we are presumptuous enough to believe that in most instances it is a full equivalent for the actual *work* done, for the actual value of the service. We are very sceptical about that intense and wearing *labor*, of which the profession makes such dolorous parade. Some excellent and industrious preachers suffer from poverty. But many more are poor because they have not energy to care for their own support.

Heart and Home Truths. Being Self-Musings upon the Divine Will. By REV. R. WHITTINGHAM, Jr. New York: Dana & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 198.

SOME amiable platitudes, much pious sentimentality, and constant ambitious efforts to seem profound, make up the contents of this volume. The truths are not new, nor are they strikingly expressed. The bigotry is lofty, placid, and condescending. Mr. Whittingham is very gracious in his exclusiveness. He is delighted to damn his dissenting brethren when they are not near. If "friend A, or friend B, or friend C, were here, it would be a cruel cut to endeavor to demonstrate to them, that they had been utterly mistaken in their notions, — that a Church

or Covenant, upon the Truth, was unknown to them." It is far better to do to this by "*self-musing*," than it would be in personal argument with the "mild, easy-going Universalist," or the "stern, unyielding Baptist," or the "white-hot denunciator of ultra-Calvinistic views, brought to a focus under some hydro-oxygenic spiritual blowpipe system, and a member of the Presbyterian Church to boot." So Rev. Mr. Whittingham *soliloquizes* down these erring schismatics. He favors us with twelve instalments of his self-communion, his thoughts of the night, fitly symbolized by evening shadows, and haze and pale moonlight or starlight. There is nothing in these twelve "*soliloquies*" to remind one of Hamlet or Cato or Ossian.

Soliloquy first is a rhapsody about "Doubt," a "Meteor," and "the Moon." Soliloquy second, on "the Truth," pities Pilate, justifies intolerance, speaks of "the unhappy ones who deny the Divinity of our Lord," and rushes through the Orthodox creed till it reaches the crowning article of "the Church." In these sixteen pages, Mr. Whittingham has learned how to test the truth, and to detect error. He ends with a hot head, a tired brain, and an apostrophe to the moon. The third night is rainy, and the soliloquist devotes it to proving from Scripture that the Church is as old as creation, and is contained in the covenants of Abraham and Moses. His exegesis is independent, as thorough as that of Bloomfield. He finds that *to believe* is to belong to the Church, *to be damned* is to keep out of it. "It is no argumentative course, it has been a simple process of inductive reasoning." In this last remark we are happy to agree. The process is *simple* enough, and there is not a bit of argument. In soliloquy fourth, Mr. Whittingham, wishing to speak "coolly, coldly," devotes himself to the solemn task of cutting off the sects, and setting forth the *awful importance* of a union with the Church. He pleasantly remarks, "I seldom see others examining the pages of revelation, to discover what they declare respecting the truth; they seem to embrace what they like, and then declare it true, because *they like it*." The remark is as charitable as it is perspicuous.

The fifth soliloquy is extremely edifying. It is devoted to the "Characteristics of the Church," and it proves, by a meditative logic worthy of the illustrious Tupper, that from *all time* "three orders" of ministry have existed in the Christian world. It is taken for granted that all but the fifty millions of Protestants — a fragment not worth considering — believe in these *three* orders, and in no more. "Forming my ideas by the circumstances immediately around me, and the very great preponderance of conflicting creeds in this my own country, I had never looked upon those holding the views of Episcopacy

in any other light than as a small body entertaining peculiar notions, — a mere handful, as it were, among the multitude." A sensible view; but Mr. Whittingham proceeds to spoil it by adding, "How differently I see it now!" The handful are rather those who deny a threefold ministry; the multitude, those who retain it. And then again that handful itself is divided and broken, and must be split up into the almost innumerable — I was going to say, grains of sand — but we will call it parcels of opinion, represented by Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Universalists, Congregationalists, &c., &c."

The sixth and seventh soliloquies, which are in some passages painfully pathetic, are devoted to the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. Concerning these we have space only to remark, that the one upholds the full idea of infant regeneration by baptism, implying that all who die without baptism, young or old, are surely damned; and the other maintains that "any society holding the mere commemorative virtue of the Holy Communion, cannot claim unity with the Truth. No mistake can be more deeply dangerous, I am persuaded. No error can strike a more fundamental blow."

The eighth soliloquy is the climax and flower of the series of what are amusingly called "*Heart Truths*." It describes the Communion of Saints. Having, by "inductive reasoning," in previous self-musings, got schismatics out of this communion, our patronizing brother proceeds to get some of them in again by an *illustration*. He compares them to a stalk of a flower, which, though cut off from its parent stem, can be made for a little while to bloom and live if *put into water*. This life, however, is very uncertain, and not likely to continue long. But it is very comforting to Orthodox schismatics to get such a grain of comfort. For desperate Unitarian heretics, Mr. Whittingham cannot dream out any ghost of a chance.

The "Home Truths" are contained in four soliloquies. Prominent among these is the duty of saying grace before every meal, and of giving unhesitating obedience to the commands of "the Church." In these soliloquies, some good things are said, but in a jerking and nervous rhetoric, which makes their would-be impressiveness very comical.

Leaves of Grass. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1855. 4to. pp. 95.

Leaves of Grass. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1856. 16mo. pp. 384.

So, then, these rank "Leaves" have sprouted afresh, and in still greater abundance. We hoped that they had dropped, and we should hear no more of them. But since they thrust them-

selves upon us again, with a pertinacity that is proverbial of noxious weeds; and since these thirty-two poems (!) threaten to become "several hundred, — perhaps a thousand," — we can no longer refrain from speaking of them as we think they deserve. For here is not a question of literary opinion principally, but of the very essence of religion and morality. The book might pass for merely hectoring and ludicrous, if it were not something a great deal more offensive. We are bound in conscience to call it impious and obscene. PUNCH made sarcastic allusion to it some time ago, as a specimen of American literature. We regard it as one of its worst disgraces. Whether or not the author really bears the name he assumes, — whether or not the strange figure opposite the title-page resembles him, or is even intended for his likeness, — whether or not he is considered among his friends to be of a sane mind, — whether he is in earnest, or only playing off some disgusting burlesque, — we are hardly sure yet. We know only, that, in point of style, the book is an impertinence towards the English language, and in point of sentiment, an affront upon the recognized morality of respectable people. Both its language and thought seem to have just broken out of Bedlam. It sets off upon a sort of distracted philosophy, and openly deifies the bodily organs, senses, and appetites, in terms that admit of no double sense. To its pantheism and libidinousness it adds the most ridiculous swell of self-applause; for the author is "one of the roughs, a kosmos, disorderly, fleshy, sensual, divine inside and out. This head more than churches or bibles or creeds. The scent of these arm-pits an aroma finer than prayer. If I worship any particular thing, it shall be some of the spread of my body." He leaves "washes and razor for foofoos"; thinks the talk "about virtue and about vice" only "blurt," he being above and indifferent to both of them; and he himself, "speaking the pass-word primeval, By God! will accept nothing which all cannot have the counterpart of on the same terms." These quotations are made with cautious delicacy. We pick our way as cleanly as we can between other passages which are more detestable.

A friend whispers as we write, that there is nevertheless a vein of benevolence running through all this vagabondism and riot. Yes; there is plenty of that philanthropy, which cares as little for social rights as for the laws of God. This Titan in his own esteem is perfectly willing that all the rest of the world should be as frantic as himself. In fact, he has no objection to any persons whatever, unless they wear good clothes, or keep themselves tidy. Perhaps it is not judicious to call any attention to such a prodigious impudence. Dante's guide through the infernal regions bade him, on one occasion, Look and pass on.

It would be a still better direction sometimes, when in neighborhoods of defilement and death, to pass on without looking. Indeed, we should even now hardly be tempted to make the slightest allusion to this crazy outbreak of conceit and vulgarity, if a sister Review had not praised it, and even undertaken to set up a plea in apology for its indecencies. We must be allowed to say, that it is not good to confound the blots upon great compositions with the compositions that are nothing but a blot. It is not good to confound the occasional ebullitions of too loose a fancy or too wanton a wit with a profession and "illustrated" doctrine of licentiousness. And furthermore, it is specially desirable to be able to discern the difference between the nudity of a statue and the gestures of a satyr; between the plain language of a simple state of society, and the lewd talk of the opposite state, which a worse than heathen lawlessness has corrupted; between the "*ἐνῇ καὶ φιλότῃ*," or "*φιλότῃ καὶ ἐνῇ μὴνῃ*," of the Iliad and Odyssey, and an ithyphallic audacity that insults what is most sacred and decent among men.

There is one feature connected with the second edition of this foul work to which we cannot feel that we do otherwise than right in making a marked reference, because it involves the grossest violation of literary comity and courtesy that ever passed under our notice. Mr. Emerson had written a letter of greeting to the author on the perusal of the first edition, the warmth and eulogium of which amaze us. But "Walt Whitman" has taken the most emphatic sentence of praise from this letter, and had it stamped in gold, signed "R. W. Emerson," upon the back of his *second* edition. This *second* edition contains some additional pieces, which in their loathsomeness exceed any of the contents of the first. Thus the honored name of Emerson, which has never before been associated with anything save refinement and delicacy in speech and writing, is made to indorse a work that teems with abominations.

Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers; to which is added Porsoniana. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 346.

At least three of the books of personal anecdotes which have lately appeared have occasioned more or less disappointment in the literary world. The Memoirs of Rev. Sydney Smith fell into hands that were too feeble for the task. Those of Thomas Moore were committed to a nobleman of distinguished ability, who would not take much pains with them. Mr. Rogers seems to have been caught up by a bookselling avidity desiring

to be first in the post-obit market. In all of them, however, especially in the Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Moore, there is good store of pleasant gossip and information. The "Table-Talk" has preserved for us one of the most illuminating anecdotes of Mr. Coleridge that we can find anywhere; and the last Edinburgh Review has repeated the story in what it affirms to be a more authentic version. That Coleridge should have had the face and the manners to entertain two gentlemen who visited him with a "monologue" of his own, was to have been expected. But that two such men as Wordsworth and Rogers, as soon as they get into the open air, should first agree in crying, "What a wonderful man!" and then, after looking one another silently in the face for a little while, should agree that they did not understand a syllable of what he had uttered from beginning to end, affords a hint which some of his idolaters would do well to open doors with.

We have taken occasion several times to speak of Mr. Coleridge in a tone very different from the usual admiring one. Not expecting to allude to him again, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to say, that we adhere to every word that we have hitherto spoken of him, whether relative to matters of fact or to critical judgments. In one instance a playful form of representation was indulged in; but the substance of the article was in solemn earnest. This was received in some quarters with a growl, and even with a small tempest, of anger and scorn. The anger was doubtless honest; the contempt was an affectation.

Dred; a Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1856. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 329, 370.

THIS new story by Mrs. Stowe is receiving extravagant commendations and almost unqualified contempt from our numerous critics. The impression which we ourselves derived from its perusal is so confused and interfered with by the multitude of discordant opinions that have been expressed concerning it, that we can hardly pronounce our own fair judgment upon it. We can only say, that we read it with an interest that held us steadily to the page, unwilling to skip a line, except — and here we speak emphatically — except when the pages were occupied with describing the character or rehearsing the rant of "Dred" himself. This nightmare monstrosity is an offence to us, a humbug, a most unnatural, impossible, unnecessary, and un-

available being, or what not? What could have possessed the eminent and able authoress to conjure up or to invent such a creature, is a problem past our skill in explanations. He answers to no reality, and unless he is taken as a sort of impersonation of the Nemesis, the avenging ogre of Slavery, he has nothing to do with the story. If Mrs. Stowe had put her quotations from the old prophets into the beak of a harsh-croaking crow perched on a scathed pine-tree over a camp-meeting, she would have been even more likely to have carried our interest with her than she does by a single thing said by her about "Dred," or by him for himself.

Bating only this nuisance in her pages, we offer our grateful thanks to her for their wisdom, their rich humor, their satire, and their indirect preaching of true humanity and true religion in place of fanaticism and stupid bigotry. It is very easy for the papers to say that the chief characters in the book are only reproductions of those in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." But the assertion is not true. Old Tiff is not Uncle Tom; nor is Nina, Eva; nor is Tomtit, Topsy; nor are any of her characters duplicated, any more than human beings of any stamp or genus are duplicated. Her new characters are all *new* ones. Fiction has no more striking or winning an embodiment than Old Tiff. He alone would stamp genius upon the work. When artists come to illustrate the book, and for that purpose make a study of its characters, scenes, and incidents, then they will realize, and those who shall enjoy their more successful achievements from their study will realize, what a world of rich, suggestive, and loving interest there is in the work. Old Tiff with his blanket, his dilapidated unmentionables, his spectacles, his vehicle, and cottage, Aunt Nesbit, Old Hundred, Nina, Milly, we long to see them in fit drawings. But let no one meddle with "Dred." Spare him, and spare us.

We suppose a fair purpose to be ascribed to the work is to present in all their entanglements and aggravations the practical difficulties involved alike in the existence and in the removal of slavery.

A Memoir, Biographical and Genealogical, of SIR JOHN LEVERETT, KNT., Governor of Massachusetts, 1678-79; of HON. JOHN LEVERETT, F. R. S., Judge of the Supreme Court, and President of Harvard College; and of the Family generally.
Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 203.

THIS book is not all that we hoped to find it when we first saw its announcement, but our disappointment ought not to

lead us to under-estimate its real value. We had expected fuller biographical relations, illustrative matter in letters, documents, and historical narrations, and something more of that curious element of antiquarian treasures which gives them their chief charm to readers not personally related to the subjects of a family history. We have, nevertheless, a very valuable and a very interesting volume. It is the record of men distinguished alike for abilities, for virtues, and for high services; and, as is fitting, the women who shared their responsibilities with husbands, parents, and brothers find here their memorial. We commend the volume, therefore, for what it does contain. Faithful pains has evidently been engaged to insure accuracy, and they were worthy for whom such care and gratitude have been spent.

Essays, by THEOPHILUS PARSONS. (Second Series.) Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 285.

PROFESSOR PARSONS, in this volume of *Essays*, discusses six topics,—The Seeming and the Actual, The Senses, The Ministry of Sorrow, The Sabbath, The Foundation of Duty, and Death and Life. A glance at this list of subjects suffices to show that the author is occupied with matters of the utmost pith and moment. He brings to them a deep faith, a vigorous, well-furnished intellect, and what is at once an advantage and disadvantage, the most entire satisfaction with the form of truth to which he has given his mind and heart. With such furnishings for his task, he could not fail to bring out a vast deal that all would accept; and for ourselves, though we cannot enter into the writer's peculiar views of religion, and go along with him in his loyalty to Swedenborg, we have nevertheless rejoiced in our communion with a wise and most Christian thinker, and are confident that we have gained light through our fellowship. In the first, third, and sixth *Essays* we have been specially interested. They are compact, clear for the most part, and singularly suggestive. The others we have not yet studied so carefully, but mean to do so. Our sympathy and admiration will not, we fear, be worth much to the author, for we go away from him just where the path is distinctively his own, and cannot read Scripture at all as he reads it; and yet he will suffer us to please and benefit ourselves by what we can accept, and to express the hope that we may meet him in a third series of papers so nobly conceived and thoroughly executed.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

By the issue of the first and the tenth volumes of the series, Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. have now completed the publication of the *Life and Works of President John Adams*, by his Grandson, Charles Francis Adams. And a noble contribution is that which is hereby made to the rapidly growing stores of American biographical, historical, and political literature. We hope very soon to make such an exhibition of our interest in this work, and of our appreciation of its contents, as may be shown by an article upon it, enriched by extracts from its inviting pages. It combines materials of a varied character as regards personal and public revelations upon the ever engaging interests of human life at important periods when men of mark are actors. The biography, composed in part by the subject of it in an autobiographical sketch and in very copious journals and letters, is as complete a revelation of the inner elements of a true-hearted man and a sincere patriot, the growth of New England influences and of a republican training, as can be found upon our library shelves. The diplomatic papers, political essays, and official documents bear the stamp of the man, and a right noble stamp it is. We hail the publication of such works, and invite for them a large popular circulation, notwithstanding their voluminous character. They furnish wiser and better reading than do the pages of our frenzied and passionate political newspapers.

The same firm continue their beautiful edition of the whole series of the "*British Essayists*," by three volumes containing "*The World*" and three more containing "*The Adventurer*." They have also added two more volumes to their series of the "*British Poets*," for the sake of giving us all the Poems of Thomas Hood. We have now four volumes of the works of this admired author, and the edition thus published by Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. is more complete than any that has been issued in England.

An elegantly printed volume from the same publishing house gives us "*Poems by William W. Story*" (12mo, pp. 307). There is much variety of tone and subject in its contents, the sentimental and the descriptive being the chief elements of the versification. The author has well proved his artistic genius and power, and has a prescriptive right to make poetry.

Messrs. Ticknor and Fields have published a new and complete edition of the *Poems of Matthew Arnold* (16mo, pp. 336). Some few of these Poems may possibly be known to our readers through the newspapers whose editors use discretion in their selections for the *Poet's Corner*. They will be glad to have the volume at hand, as its contents convey the impression of a vigorous mind working with a degree of originality alike in the selection and in the treatment of subjects.

Redfield of New York has produced a handsome reprint, with *Maps and Plans*, of Arthur P. Stanley's admirable work on "*Sinai*"
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and Palestine." (8vo, pp. 535.) We have already, in a reference to the English edition of this book, spoken in the highest terms of its excellence. It is incomparably the best work in our language upon its own interesting subject.

Putnam & Co. of New York have published the third volume of the duodecimo edition of Irving's *Life of Washington*. The general verdict of the country has sealed the testimony which the critics have rendered to the charms of this work. We should say that it is destined to find a wider circulation among the schools and the families of our land, than any other historical or biographical work.

The same firm has issued an American reprint in one volume of the substance of Lieutenant Burton's admirable "Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Mecca." (12mo, pp. 492.) The London edition, which appeared in three octavo volumes, has been slightly abridged and condensed, not in a way, however, to impair its value, and an introductory essay has been supplied by Bayard Taylor. The work is one of very great interest, and, what is more, is to be relied upon for its authenticity.

One of the most amusing of recent publications is also upon the East, under the title of "Oriental Acquaintance; or, Letters from Syria." By J. W. De Forest, published by Dix, Edwards, & Co., New York. (12mo, pp. 285.) It is good-humored, racy, and wise.

Messrs. John P. Jewett & Co. have published a work by Hiram Parker, M. D. (12mo, pp. 368), entitled, "The Harmony of Ages: a Thesis on the Relations between the Conditions of Man and the Character of God." We have not yet read the volume, but if the Doctor convinces us that he has found "Harmony" where Dr. Edward Beecher found so sharp a "Conflict," we shall hasten to make the fact known on our pages.

The ever-diligent mouser and lively narrator, Dr. Doran, gives us, through a reprint by Redfield, another work full of vigor and information, entitled, "Knights and their Days." (12mo, pp. 479.) Knighthood in its dignity and its Quixotism is here portrayed by a master's hand, and much curious historical matter is presented in a pleasing form.

Messrs. Brown, Taggard, and Chase, of this city, have just published a new and revised edition of Worcester's *Historical Atlas*. Twelve Charts, printed with a great regard to accuracy, present the names, incidents, relations, revolutions, dynasties, and biographies, which compose the bone and sinew of history. We hardly need remind any of the high value of such a work.

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, and Co. have in press:—
"Christian Thought and Life." A volume of Sermons which Dr. Lamson, of Dedham, has prepared for publication, in compliance with the request of his parishioners.

"Pictures of the Olden Time," by Rev. E. H. Sears.

Forrest on the Trinity. Edited by Rev. F. Huidekoper.

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THE
CRITIC CRITICISED:
A REPLY
TO
A REVIEW OF WEBSTER'S SYSTEM

IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW FOR MARCH, 1856.

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW
FOR JUNE, 1856.

BY EPES SARGENT, Esq.,
OF BOSTON.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. :
GEO. & CHAS. MERRIAM.
1856.

[From Hon. John C. Spencer.]

ALBANY, June 18th, 1851.

MESSRS. G. & C. MERRIAM,

Gentlemen:—After the testimony to the extraordinary merit of Dr. Webster's Dictionary of the English Language which has been borne by the illustrious Statesmen, Scholars, and Writers of this country, and by the most competent judges in England, it seems almost presumptuous for me to express an opinion on the subject; but as your polite note of the 16th inst. seems to invite such an expression, I comply.

More than twenty years ago I procured the Quarto edition, and have used it constantly ever since. My pursuits in life have rendered it necessary to consult it frequently, as well as other works of a kindred or similar character, particularly Dr. Johnson's Quarto of the latest and best edition, Richardson's Dictionary, Crabbe's Synonyms, and Horne Tooke's Diversions of Purley. In professional, political, and literary discussions, the turning point of the argument has often been the exact meaning of words, as ascertained not only from their use, but from their derivation: while in many cases, perhaps in a majority of them, the works referred to have failed to give the desired information, that of Dr. Webster has always furnished precisely what has been desired, and I have long felt individually indebted to the illustrious author, for the labor and time he has saved me by his unwearied patience, profound learning, and unsurpassed industry.

It is unquestionably the very best Dictionary of our language extant. It is a model of copiousness and precision; and its great accuracy in the definition and derivation of words, gives it an authority that no other work on the subject possesses. It is constantly cited and relied on in our Courts of Justice, in our Legislative bodies, and in public discussions, as entirely conclusive.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that such a work is a treasure which cannot be dispensed with by any one who would thoroughly understand and correctly use his mother tongue. It should be in every school in our land, that our youth may not be obliged, as I have been, to unlearn the false pronunciation, the unsound philology, and the erroneous definitions, which were taught me in my childhood.

The elegance and correctness of your edition, so cheap for a book of its size—one-third of what I gave for the first edition—are alike creditable to your taste and enterprise, and worthy of the great work which will ever stand forth a monument of the science and literature of our country.

John C. Spencer.

PUBLISHERS' NOTICE.

HAD the author of the attack, to which the following is a reply, quoted frankly and accurately the language in which the reasons he assumes to controvert are given, there would be little occasion for us to notice his abusive article. The fallacy of his arguments would have been obvious to the discriminating reader, and a sufficient antidote would have accompanied the bane. But, as will be seen in the sequel, the critic, as we will by courtesy call him, has repeatedly misquoted Webster's language, and by suppressing certain words here, and adding others there, has endeavored to make Webster stultify and contradict himself. Thus, for example, he says, "But what does Webster mean by saying that *prelence*, *offence*, and *defence*, are 'the only three words that remain terminating in *ence*'?" Here he professes to quote Webster's exact language. And again, (citing Webster,) "changing the only three words that remain, terminating in *ence*." *But this language is nowhere to be found as used by Webster in his Dictionary.* He nowhere says that "only three words remain terminating in *ence*." It is said that "a change is needed in only three words more to complete the analogy;" a very different statement. When, therefore, the critic says of Webster, "His own Dictionary contains many other words terminating in *ence*," &c., and so seeks to convict him of self-contradiction, the whole force of his assault rests on *his own misquotation*. So in other cases we might cite. If there is any thing that may seem specious and mischievous in this attack, it may be attributed to the employment of tactics like these.

The attempt at defamation thus made seems to have imparted no little comfort and encouragement to parties who are peculiarly interested in bringing Webster's system into discredit. The article containing the attack has been republished in various forms, and scattered broadcast over the country by these parties, the publishers of another dictionary, who seem to base all their hopes of success, one day, upon the amount of prejudice they may be able to excite against a Dictionary which has precedence, in every sense, in the public estimation, and which is unquestionably the standard authority for a large majority of the American people.

But thus far the efforts of these publishers, though continued unscrupulously through a series of years, have utterly failed. The ally, to whose coöperation they now resort, is no new assailant of the fame and merits of Noah Webster. In communications to various journals he has, through a period of eight or nine years, given vent to his rancorous hostility. In one of his tirades he says, "Webster was a vain, weak, plodding Yankee, ambitious to be an American Johnson;" and adds other epithets in the same vein. The style of this remark will sufficiently indicate the spirit in which the writer enters upon his periodical task of vilification. The public are as yet stubbornly deaf to his appeals, if we may take as a proof the increasing sales of Webster's Dictionaries.

Of the motives of the parties who are circulating this new and revised edition of old, exploded objections, we need say nothing. Although its reissue in several Boston and New York journals may have the appearance of a spontaneous concurrence in its views,

we are assured that, in some instances at least, its insertion was paid for by the publishers to whom we have alluded, — *the dictionary issued by them being equally open to several of the same strictures as the article in question contains upon Webster.* Thus :

1. The critic cites, with a sneer, *fifteen* words from Webster, as showing that "the value of the dictionary" may not "increase in the direct ratio of its voluminousness." But the dictionary issued by these persons thus circulating this critic's article contains *twelve* of these same words. 2. The critic animadverts upon Webster's rule by which he omits one *l* in *traveler*, &c. But the dictionary published by these gentlemen says, "This form" (omitting one *l*) "is agreeable to the general analogy of the language; and it only wants the sanction of the prevailing usage to render it the preferable authority." 3. The reviewer disavours the omission of *k* in *physick*, *musick*, &c., and *u* in *favour*, *honour*, &c., saying they have "been gradually dropped * * though probably without good reason." The dictionaries published by the gentlemen circulating these strictures follow Dr. Webster in dropping thus the *u* and *k*; an important and highly convenient modification, the general adoption of which in this country has been secured almost entirely by Webster's system.

We might press this comparison in other particulars, showing that the strictures by which these publishers are striving to prejudice Webster, to their own advantage, militate equally, in various particulars, against their own works.

Why is it, that, in these interested assaults, no attempt at an argument is made against the acknowledged superiority of the defining department of Webster's Dictionary, — that department in which the value of a dictionary chiefly consists? Is not Webster's preëminence as a definer thus tacitly conceded? If not, why this exclusive and perpetual harping on his orthographical changes and restorations, — changes, which, according to the reviewer, only affect eighty words in eighty thousand?

We close our notice with the inquiry, Is the spirit which prompted this review of Webster's system that from which we are to look for honest and valid criticism? Are the motives which thus induce to its zealous circulation justifiable and praiseworthy?

We will not keep the reader longer from the Reply, which, we are authorized to say, is from the pen of EPES SARGENT, Esq.,* of Boston.

JUNE, 1856.

* Author of the *Standard Speaker*, the new and popular *Standard Series of Readers*, the *Standard Speller*, &c.

REPLY

TO

A REVIEW OF WEBSTER'S SYSTEM.

THE *Democratic Review* for March contains several pages of somewhat bitter animadversion on the orthography of Noah Webster. A tone of disparagement is assumed towards this eminent man, which neither the force of the Reviewer's objections, nor his display of philological qualification, appears to warrant. He who would "judge the judges" might be expected to bring to his self-imposed task some little acquaintance with the law. Whether our Reviewer's expressions of contempt for an illustrious and venerable name proceed from superior knowledge, or from the temerity of ignorance and ill-will, we propose to put it in the reader's power to decide.

The English language being derived from various and discordant sources, its orthography was for a long period confused and unsettled. Even later than the time of Cromwell, every man might be said to be "his own speller." Gradually, however, during the last two hundred years, our language has been undergoing a process of simplification. It has been working out important analogies, and tending steadily towards increased uniformity. But this progress, like that of civil liberty in England, has never been regular or systematic. Every gain has been made at the expense of much remaining irregularity; and there have always been persons ready to object to all reforms on this account.

In the last century, for example, when men grew weary of writing *fabrick*, *musick*, *stoick*, *physick*, etc., and began to drop the *k*, the cry of "innovation" and "inconsistency" was loudly raised. Johnson condemned the change as a gross corruption of our language; and one of the "reviewers" of the day, undertook to overwhelm it with ridicule by framing sentences like the following: "Dic gave Jac a kic, when Jac gave Dic a knoc on the face with a thic stic."

In like manner, when the *u* was first omitted in such words as *authour*, *governour*, *mediatour*, etc., (for nearly every word of this kind came with a *u* into our language from the French,) there was a similar outcry against those who ventured on the change. Dr. Webster was denounced throughout our country for adopting these "monstrous innovations." So far was the feeling carried in respect to the letter *k* (which had so long figured as a supernumerary in a large class of words) that two of Roscoe's works—*Lorenzo di Medici*, and *Leo the Tenth*—which had been printed by the author in England with the new spelling, were actually altered in 1803–5 throughout the whole eight volumes, by the Philadelphia publisher, who restored the *k* in every word where it had been omitted!

This "clutter of superfluous" letters has at last been swept away; and we may ask, Is there a man in the United States who doubts the expediency of these changes? We had not imagined that such an individual could be found; but it seems there is one, and that man is our Reviewer. Whether another exists in our country, remains to be determined. But this Reviewer tells us in plain terms that these changes were made "probably without good reason"! Now, we submit it to the reader, whether it is possible for such a man to be a fair critic in a case like this. One whose mind is so shut in by an ultra conservatism is totally disqualified for taking large and liberal views of such a subject. His real feeling is, (and this is the principle which underlies all his objections,) "Do nothing unless you can do every thing." This it is which leads him, the moment any case is mentioned where a change in a few words would make an analogy complete, to look out for some other and more remote case, and bring the charge of inconsistency because the change is not proposed *there* also!

Opposition like this would have been quite as justifiable in the days of Henry the Eighth or of Queen Elizabeth as at present; and if such objections had then prevailed, we should now be writing, with our ancestors of those days, *fygge, schyppe, schmalle, onely, aire, uprore, sunne, veray*, etc. It is because the public paid no regard to such objections, that we have been steadily advancing towards greater simplicity and uniformity in our spelling. Men saw that the resort to such objections was mere *evasion*—a changing of the issue for the sake of finding fault. We shall endeavor to show that nearly all that the Reviewer has said is of this character, intermingled with bold assertions, and expressions of contempt towards Dr. Webster, such as we rarely meet with at the present day in the pages of a scholar and a gentleman.

Our distinguished countryman is represented as "priding himself most on what he was least fitted for;" as "every way unequal to his task;" as "aspiring to a Newtonian law that would reconcile all orthographical inconsistencies;" as, "with all his plodding," not being able "to hit upon the really weak points of the language." Intimations against his good faith are also thrown out.

It is unnecessary to reply to aspersions like these. The fame of Noah Webster is in the keeping of the nation, beyond the reach of cavil and question. Born in 1758, he graduated at Yale College in 1778, and entered upon those philological studies which he prosecuted to a late period of his life. In his *Spelling Book*, published in 1785, he made an important reform in the syllabication of words—a reform which may now be found adopted in nine tenths of the English dictionaries and spelling books in use. In his *Grammar*, published about the same time, he proposed new rules for the use of the subjunctive mood; and these have now the force of grammatical law, as well in England as in the United States. In 1789 Franklin wrote to him, "I can not but applaud your zeal for preserving the purity of our language." In 1807 Webster commenced the great work of his life—his "*American Dictionary of the English Language*." His labors on this work extended to the year 1825, a period of eighteen years. They were years of unintermitted study and research. Several of them he devoted to an examination of the vocabularies of twenty of the principal languages of the world, with a view to tracing the genealogies and affinities of words. Eight months he passed at the University of Cambridge, in England, where he had free access to the libraries. He spent some time in Paris, always intent on his great work; and he afterwards visited London and the principal cities of Great Britain, to satisfy himself more thoroughly as to the existing state of the English language and pronunciation in that country. He at length returned home, and at the age of seventy brought his life-long labors to a close with the publication of his Dictionary.

Such were the qualifications, the self-sacrificing zeal, the faithful career of a man, of whom it is now said, "He was *every way* unequal to his task." The charge that he aspired to a "Newtonian law" which should reconcile all orthographical inconsistencies, is a mere impertinence. No man was better aware of the impossibility of any such law, applied to a composite language like the English. In his Introduction he says, "It is important that the same *written words* and the same *oral sounds*, to express the same ideas, should be used by the whole nation. When any man, therefore, attempts to change the established orthography or pronunciation, except to correct palpable errors and produce uniformity, by recalling wanderers into the pale of regular analogies, he offers an indignity to the nation." Again he says, "In many cases, when a false orthography has been long established, I have noticed the fact, without making any alteration in the common spelling." Is this the language of one whose rules are "bare assertions of his opinions," and who hoped to "reconcile all orthographical inconsistencies"?

The amplitude of Webster's vocabulary is regarded by common people as adding to its value; but in this the Reviewer finds new cause for a supercilious depreciation of the "plodding" lexicographer; quoting the following words from Webster's Dictionary, as suggesting a doubt whether its value "increases in the direct ratio of its voluminousness":—

<i>irremovability</i>	<i>irrepealability</i>	<i>irrenowned</i>
<i>irremovably</i>	<i>irrepealableness</i>	<i>irreparable</i>
<i>irremunerable</i>	<i>irrepentance</i>	<i>irreparably</i>
<i>irreparability</i>	<i>irremovable</i>	<i>irrepealable</i>
<i>irreparableness</i>	<i>irremoval</i>	<i>irrepealably</i>

Of these words, some are used by Shakspeare, Milton, and Spenser; and the majority of them are in every good dictionary of modern date, including Smart's and Reid's. All but three of them — the first, seventh, and tenth — may be found in another American dictionary, which, if we mistake not, has met with great favor in our Reviewer's eyes, and the publishers of which have been busily giving circulation to his defamation of Webster. If the scrutiny of the critic had been directed to the vocabulary of the competing lexicographer whose publishers have been thus engaged, he might have detected the following choice words, not one of which can be found in Webster's Dictionary:—

<i>cocknefy</i>	<i>sapientize</i>	<i>squeezable</i>
<i>dandify</i>	<i>scranky</i>	<i>thundery</i>
<i>dandyze</i>	<i>scribblement</i>	<i>transmogrification</i>
<i>dirt pie</i>	<i>scriggle</i>	<i>unindifferency</i>
<i>fiddlefaddler</i>	<i>scrimption</i>	<i>uninsuredness</i>
<i>jiggumbob</i>	<i>shopocracy</i>	<i>wegotism</i>
<i>pish-pash</i>	<i>soberize</i>	<i>weism</i>

What precious contributions have we here to the "well of English undefiled"! What purity and legitimacy, contrasted with the character of those words quoted against Webster, as "recruits from all creditable and discreditable sources"!

Let us now examine some of the Reviewer's orthographical objections.

I. The word *woe*. Webster gives this as the true spelling; so do Smart, Reid, Worcester, and other lexicographers. The word is so spelled by the translators of the Bible, by Shakspeare, Milton, Pope, and by Wordsworth, the most accurate of the English poets. It is the prevalent spelling both in England and this country. Webster states a simple fact, and deduces its reason: "Woe takes the final *e*, like *doe*, *foe*, *hoe*, *sloe*, *toe*, and all similar nouns of one syllable." The other parts of speech reject the *e*. The word in question, being a noun, should take it, making the analogy without exception. But

our Reviewer magisterially exclaims, "Webster's reason is entirely arbitrary." Arbitrary? It is, in fact, one of the strongest of all reasons in a question of language, namely, a *complete analogy*; and the Reviewer's comment is mere ignorant assertion. However, he kindly assures us that "this is a small matter." It certainly is so; and there are other specimens of his criticism quite as "small," if not smaller, in store for the reader.

II. The words *mold* and *molt*. A pretty large class of monosyllables, bound together by having the long sound of *o*, as *bold*, *bold*, etc., had an old form, as *gould*, *bould*, *ould*, *tould*, in which the *u* was finally dropped. There seemed an equally good reason for dropping the *u* in the two remaining words of the class, namely, *mould* and *moult*. Indeed this was done by Spenser, South, and many other old English writers. There is also an etymological reason for the omission of the *u*. The Reviewer turns off to *port* and *fort*, a totally different class of words, and gives it as his *simple assertion*, that *court* ought to be made like them by dropping the *u*, if we are to admit Webster's reasons for *mold* and *molt*. But *port* and *fort* never had a *u*; and no similar reason exists for a change, at the same time that all etymological reasons are against it. Here is one of those cases of *changing the issue*, in which the Reviewer exhibits a sort of harlequin dexterity.

III. *Defense, offense, pretense*, etc. Nouns of this kind are of two classes. First, a number in *ence* from Latin nouns in *tia*, as *sentence* from *sententia*; *reverence* from *reverentia*; *confidence* from *confidentia*, etc., which have their derivatives in *t*, as *sententious*, etc. Second, a small class of five or six words only, like *expense*, etc., derived from Latin nouns, perfect participles, or verbs. These have their derivatives in *s*. They stand thus according to Johnson: *expense* from *expensum*; *defence* from *defensio*; *offence* from *offensa*; *pretence* from *prætensum*; *suspense* from *suspensus*; *recompence* from *recompensum*. This latter class of words, although thus differing from the preceding class, came into our language with the spelling *ence*. *Expense* and *recompence* were spelled with a *c* from the time of Chaucer through all the versions of the Bible down to Bailey's Dictionary, in the middle of the last century. *Licence* was also spelled with a *c*. But a separation now commenced; and Johnson wrote *expense*, *recompence*, *suspense*, and *license* with an *s*. It was unfortunate that he did so in *license*, because this word properly belongs to the first of the two classes, being derived from *licentia*, and hence some of its derivatives have the *t*, as *licentious*. But this word can not be recalled. As to *expense*, *recompence*, etc., no one ever doubted that Johnson was right. But if he was right, Webster says he ought to have added the other three words of this class, all being derived from words in *s*, and all having their derivatives spelled with an *s*. How does the Reviewer meet this plain argument? By the following series of evasions:—

Evasion first. He flourishes before us the fact that *license* has derivatives in both the forms, namely, *s* and *t*. Be it so. What does this prove, as to the point before us? The words in question (*defense, offense*, etc.) are unlike *license* in this respect: they have only *one* form, and that the same with *expense*. And does it therefore follow that they should be spelled *differently* from *expense*? The true inference (if there is any) from the Reviewer's premises is this: that *license* should reassume the *c*, like *sentence*, because its derivatives are a majority of them in *t*, as *licentious*. But what kind of logic is it which insists that *license* should retain the *s*, (while thus differing from *expense* as to derivatives,) but that *defense, offense, pretense*, should not take the *s*, like *expense*, while they perfectly agree with it in respect to the very point brought forward by the Reviewer!

Evasion second. The Reviewer asks, with an affectation of surprise, "What

does Webster mean by saying that *pretence*, *offence*, *defence*, are the only three words that remain, terminating in *ence*?" The context will show that Webster never said any thing of this kind, in the broad, unqualified terms here imputed to him; but that he is speaking of the second class of words mentioned above, derived from words in *s*. These three words *are* all that remain in *that class*. What he says is, those words which thus remain ought to take the *s*, in common with *expense* and *recompense*, etc. The Reviewer utterly misrepresents him, as though Webster was speaking with reference to the other class. Is it possible that the Reviewer could have innocently misconceived a meaning so obvious?

Evasion third. The Reviewer says, in regard to conforming primitives to derivatives, "If this *rule* has any force, it must be general in its application." Now, Webster never laid it down as a *rule*; and here is another attempt to misrepresent him. It is a great convenience to have primitives and derivatives conformed in their spelling; but surely Webster's endeavor to produce this uniformity in a few proper instances is not fairly liable to so sweeping a misconstruction. No general "*rule*" can be deduced, either from Webster's practice or principles, on this subject; he simply shows that this conformity is to be studied and secured when it can be conveniently done. He found the words *catechise* and *exorcise* spelled with an *s* by Walker, Jameson, Knowles, Todd, and the majority of lexicographers. In this case, the words conformed to their derivatives, — *catechist*, *exorcism*, etc., — although they departed from Webster's general rule as to verbs from the Greek *izo*. He allowed them to remain as exceptions, in consideration of the other advantage gained. But he found *baptize* spelled by Johnson, Walker, and others, with a *z*; and, notwithstanding the derivatives of this word require an *s*, the argument of usage and of conformity with the Greek *baptizo* was sufficient to induce him to attempt no change. All that he has done, therefore, has been to let *catechise*, *exorcise*, and *baptize* retain the form which the leading lexicographers had given to them. Webster's general rule was this: "Verbs from the Greek *izo*, and others formed in analogy with them, have the termination in *ize*, as *baptize*, *legalize*." Mark the unjustifiable construction which the Reviewer gives to this simple statement. "The assertion," he says, "that *baptize* and *legalize* are derived directly from the Greek needs confirmation." He would make it appear that Webster is chargeable with the blunder of deriving *legalize* directly from the Greek! Here we have — *first*, an attempt to prove inconsistency against Webster, in departing from a rule which he never laid down or admitted; and *secondly*, an attempt to prove a blunder against him, which no ingenuity can extort from the plain meaning of his words. What shall we say of the candor of the critic who resorts to subterfuges like these?

Evasion fourth. This has reference to *fence*, as derived from *fend*. Now, the words which Webster proposed to change are all derived, according to Johnson, *directly* from a noun, participle, or verb, containing an *s*; and so their derivatives were in *s*. But *fence*, according to the Reviewer's own showing, is not derived from a verb containing an *s*, and its derivatives are not in *s*. Therefore, as stated by Webster, it does not fall under the same category with the words in question. All that the Reviewer has said about it, therefore, is *mere evasion*.

While under this head, we may make a remark on the word *pretensed*, in respect to which our Reviewer talks in an *ex cathedra* style, and says, "*Rule it out*!" He more than insinuates that Webster was guilty of an imposture in admitting it, and that he did so in order to favor his own views in regard to the spelling of derivatives. "What sort of modern English word is *pretensed*?" asks our critic; "Webster cites the encyclopædia. What encyclopædia?"

The critic is not to be taken in — not he — by a sham word. Well, we refer him to any respectable dictionary of modern date for the satisfaction of his sagacious doubts. In Todd's Johnson he will find, "*Pretensed*, (prætersus, Lat.) pretended, feigned. Pretensed right is a term of law. — *Stapleton*." If Todd is too modern, we refer the critic to Bailey, or to Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic Words. If these are too ancient, we refer him to Smart's Abridged London Dictionary, (1854,) or to Alexander Reid's Edinburgh Dictionary for Schools, (republished by the Messrs. Appleton, New York.) By the critic's leave we will, therefore, *rule back* the word *pretensed*. It is a matter of little consequence, except as showing the ignorance of the man who undertakes to put down Dr. Webster for his ignorance. But there is one word, *pretentious*, (from the French *pretentieux*,) which Webster, it seems, has omitted. This he has done, in common with the authorities cited above, and all the standard lexicographers. We are sorry for it. The critic's own style is a proof that the epithet may be sometimes convenient and apt.

IV. The words *dullness*, *fullness*, etc. The Reviewer suggests that "*as dullness* should be written *dullness* because its primitive is written *dull*, *skillful* should be written *skillfull* to 'complete the analogy' with *stiffness*." Walker, in his Introduction to his Rhyming Dictionary, Aphorism VII., instances the following words, namely: *smallness*, *tallness*, *chillness*, *dullness*, *fullness*, as spelled according to the mode then prevalent, and pertinently asks, "Since there is no hope of restoring the lost *l* to these words, why should we write *illness*, *fellness*, *shrillness*, and *stillness*, unless we are determined to have no rule for our orthography, good or bad?" But the good sense of the public came to the rescue, and the *l* was restored to *smallness*, *tallness*, and *chillness*. Why not then to *dullness* and *fullness*? It was in this connection that Webster, in No. 6 of his rules, gave his verdict for *dullness* and *fullness*. How does the Reviewer meet the combined authority and arguments of Webster and Walker? Why, after his old fashion of *evasion*. He tells us that under Webster's principle, we ought to write "*skillfull*." Now, every child knows, that *ful* (though derived from *full*) has become a regular English formative, as much as *ly*, (from *lic*, *like*,) in *wisely*, *likely*, etc. It by no means follows, because the spelling of the primitive *skill* ought to be retained in *skillful* that, therefore, the affix *ful* ought not to have its legitimate contracted form. As well might it be said, that in the derivative *likely*, because we retain the whole of the primitive in the first syllable, the formative *ly* ought also to take the form of *like*, making the word *like-like*. With regard to the affixes *less* and *ness*, Webster himself says that one *s* in these syllables is useless; but as there is no irregularity in the spelling of them in the large number of words to which they are attached, we may certainly accept the formative *ful* as it exists, and at the same time omit to strike out the superfluous *s* in *ness*, without inconsistency. A man may consistently adopt one reform which he finds already in vogue, even though he may not think it expedient to venture upon another for which the public is unprepared. The Reviewer has here not only *shifted the issue*, but exhibited his ignorance of one of the commonest laws regulating the formation of English words.

V. Words like *traveler*, *worshiper*, etc. We come now to the most extensive class of words affected by the rules adopted by Webster. The following rule, laid down by Lowth and other grammarians, is one of the best established in English orthography:—

"All words of more than one syllable, ending with one consonant preceded by one vowel, and accented on the last syllable, always double that consonant on adding *ed*, *eth*, *ing*, etc. But if such words are not accented on the last syllable, they do not double the last consonant. EXAMPLES: (Case first,) *Allot*,

allotted, allotting ; (Case second,) *reason, reasoned, reasoning* ; *worship, worshipped, worshipping*."

Of the doubling of the *p*, as in *worshipping*, and of the *l*, as in *counselling*, Lowth says it is a "fault in the spelling, which neither analogy nor pronunciation justifies."

From inattention to this rule we have such inconsistencies as *novelist* with one *l*, and *duellist* with two ; *bigotted, rivetted*, etc., with two *t*'s ; and *pocketed, limited*, etc., with one. Indeed the exceptions to the rule have been so purely arbitrary and capricious, that the same writer would double the unaccented consonant at one time, and omit to do it at another. The exceptions might be indefinitely extended at the whim of any one ; for no one could decide what the best usage really was in regard to many of the words.

Walker says : "An ignorance of this rule has led many to write *bigotted* for *bigoted*, etc., and from this spelling has frequently arisen a false pronunciation ; but no letter seems to be more frequently doubled improperly than *l*. Why we should write *libelling, levelling, revelling*, and yet *offering, suffering, reasoning*, I am totally at a loss to determine."

Perry, Ash, and other English writers expressed themselves in favor of Lowth's rule, and Perry introduced it to a great extent in his dictionary. Among American writers, Worcester says, "It evidently better accords with the analogy of the language." And he adds, "This form (*traveling*, etc.) only wants the sanction of prevailing usage to render it the preferable orthography."

Mr. C. Vines, author of "The Dictionary Appendix," (London, 1854,) adopts Webster's reform, and says of the "deviations" condemned by Lowth, "They are liberties that ought not to be sanctioned, being directly opposed to orthographical rule and to proper accentuation — they are deviations without a reason. * * * All consistent writers should give their decided opposition to this devious current in orthography."

Webster simply carried out the recommendations of Lowth, Walker, Perry, and other authorities. Since the appearance of the revised edition of Webster's Dictionary in 1847, the American public have taken up the reform in the spirit of men who mean to see it through. Editors and publishers who follow Webster in nothing else, take a strong hold here. Practical printers, compositors, and proof readers, — a class exercising great influence in introducing improvements in orthography, — despairing of keeping in the memory the many arbitrary deviations from a general rule, find the importance of carrying out so broad an analogy as this. It is prevailing every where with a rapidity wholly unexpected by the warmest Websterian.

But how has the Reviewer met the argument of Lowth and Walker ? What has he said to invalidate the force of their reasons, or to show that Lowth's rule, recommended by Webster, should not be at once adopted in our orthography ? Not a syllable ! He darts off to another subject, and seeks to find fault with Webster as "inconsistent," because he does not bring certain other words under the same rule. Now, this applies as much to Lowth and Walker as it does to Webster ; but the Reviewer says nothing about *them*. His abuse is directed solely against the American lexicographer, as if he alone was responsible for whatever difficulties may exist in the case.

We have already intimated that in every stage of improvement in our spelling, there will arise some point of difficulty. It is impossible to do every thing at once. The good sense of the English race has kept them from attempting it, and at the same time has led them to go on widening their analogies, even though there might be a point where some inconsistency, real or apparent, would occur. The inconsistencies in the old spelling were, in

many instances, far greater than in the reformed. In the present case there is a class of words, like *tranquillity*, which do not fall properly under Lowth's rule. This rule relates, as all know, to *English* formatives. Take now the word *tranquillity*. We have no English formative here. The word is not made up of *tranquil* and *ity*; it is directly derived from the Latin *tranquillitas*. So we have *civility* from *civilitas*; *frugality* from *frugalitas*; while *legality*, according to Todd's Johnson, is from the French *légalité*. From the Latin *cancello* we have *cancellatus*, *cancellatio*; and from these the English words *cancellate*, *cancellated*, *cancellation*. So also we have the Latin word *lamella*, from which Dr. Webster deduces the English word *lamel*, and through this, going back to *lamella*, he derives *lamellar* and the other derivatives. We have the same kind of warrant for *crystallography*, *crystalline*, *metallurgy*, etc. So also for *chancellor*. Every body knows that this word is not compounded of the English word *chancel*, with the formative *or*. So also in regard to *chapellany*, now an obsolete word. It is not a compound of *chapel* and *any*, but derived from *capellanus*, a Latin term of the middle ages. In regard to *excellence*: this word is not formed from the English word *excel*, and *ence* as a formative, but directly from the Latin *excellētia*. So of *excellent*. Now, in respect to all these words, one thing is certain: they do not fall under Lowth's rule—they are not English derivatives. But how does the Reviewer turn aside from the real question? What room does he here find for cavil? Let us see.

Evasion first. Webster has confined the rule to English formatives. This was plainly the whole intent of his observations under rule No. 3, as quoted by the Reviewer. Webster very briefly alludes to the other class of words, as derived *directly* from the Latin and Greek—his plain and sole object being to show that *they did not come from the English*. The Reviewer has laid hold of the word "*directly*," to give us the important information that the word *chancellor* came into our language through the French from the Latin, and not *directly* from the Latin, and so to raise a shout of victory over Webster's self-contradiction. He also gives us, in his style of delicate humor, the additional information that Webster's "great-grandfather was *not there* when the word was adopted"! But what has all this to do with the real question at issue—that respecting Lowth's rule, or the propriety of its being established as recommended by Webster? The Reviewer resorts to his old game. He dodges the real issue, draws off the reader's attention to a new side-issue, and quibbles because Webster, in his necessarily brief rule, did not (as he does under the proper head in his Dictionary) trace the pedigree of *chancellor* through the French *chancelier* to *cancellarius*, but made mention of the Latin original only! The attempt to fix upon Webster "*inferentially*" the absurd rule, that "words directly derived always retain the *ll* of their originals," falls with the rest of these frivolous charges. Emboldened by practice, the Reviewer seems now to have attained a facility in his "changes of the issue" which Herr Alexander might envy.

Evasion second. The Reviewer endeavors to mystify the subject by charging Webster with doing something wholly "arbitrary" in dividing the words *shaveling* and *starveling* into two syllables, while he divides *shoveling* and *traveling* into three. He says, "Webster ordains" this; and also, "Here then is arbitrary rule the second in direct conflict with arbitrary rule the first." Let us see. *Shave* is a word of one syllable, and *ling* an English formative of another syllable. Is there any thing "arbitrary" in making them, when united, a word of *two* syllables? All the lexicographers have done the same, and what else could be made of such a compound? On the other hand, *shov* and *travel* are words of two syllables. Is there any thing "arbitrary" .

making them words of three syllables, when the formative *ing* is added? What else could Webster possibly make them? The intentional point of the Reviewer's evasion seems to be this: that the formative termination is the *same* in these two classes of words! Unless this is admitted, there is plainly not a shadow of pretense for the objection made. Now, we put the question: Did the Reviewer believe when he wrote this, that the words *shaveling* and *shoveling* have the same formative termination? If he did believe it, he is too ignorant as to the structure of our language to justify his meddling. He has put himself *hors du combat* on such a subject. If he did *not* believe it, if he knew better, then has he used false reasoning in order to bring reproach on Webster. There is no escape from this dilemma.

Evasion third. This is of the same nature with the preceding. The Reviewer gives *gravel* as the primitive, and *gravelly* under it, as a case in which Webster is inconsistent in doubling the *l*. Now, in the adjective *gravelly*, the formative termination is not *y*, but *ly*, being an abbreviation of *lic*, (*like*), and denoting *gravel-like*. Webster is therefore consistent in writing *gravelly* with two *l*'s, as he is in writing *woolly* with two, and *woolen* with one. We again put the question: Did the Reviewer know that *ly* was the formative? If he did *not* know, his ignorance of a fact familiar to schoolboys is somewhat remarkable in one who undertakes to pronounce magisterially on the qualifications of Dr. Webster. If he *did* know, then has he endeavored to mislead his readers and produce an injurious impression, by wantonly false reasoning.

VI. Words in *er*, like *theater*, etc. In judging of the propriety of Webster's proposed mode of spelling these words, one should be fully aware to how wide an extent the French form of *re* prevailed in the time of Chaucer, and even much later, in our early versions of the Bible. Not only such words as *chamber*, *cider*, *tiger*, *enter*, *fever*, *tender*, *charter*, *number*, etc., once written *chambre*, *cidre*, *tigre*, *entre*, *fevre*, *tendre*, etc., had the French form, but it was even applied to words of Saxon origin, out of deference to the fashion of the court. Hence we find *mordre* and *murthre* for *murder*, and other cases of the same kind. But the English form rapidly prevailed. It is idle to say, as the Reviewer has done, that "*re* is as consistent with any admitted or fixed principle of English orthography as *er*." Every schoolboy knows better than this. Our English ancestors who reversed the form knew better. How, then, has the Reviewer met Webster's argument from this steady tendency towards the termination *er*? By still

Another evasion. He turns off, as usual, to a side issue, at the same time adopting a contumelious tone. Adverting to Webster's remark, that some fifteen or twenty words, with their derivatives, had retained the spelling in *re*, he takes airs upon himself in the following characteristic manner: "The reason why these fifteen or twenty words retain their original termination, and why Webster should have let them alone, is *obvious to every one but himself*, (!) namely, that their *derivatives required it*."

Let us look for a moment at this instance of Noah Webster's stupidity. All the world, it seems, knew (though he did not) that if we write *theater*, *luster*, etc., we must carry the *e* into their derivatives, and write *theatrical*, *lustrous*, etc. Indeed? Why, then, have all the world changed *wondre* into *wonder*, while they yet write *wondrous*, and not *wonderous*? Why have they changed *monstre* into *monster*, while they still write *monstrous*, and not *monsterous*? Why have they changed *entre* into *enter*, and yet been so stupid as to write *entrance*? Why have they changed *disastre* into *disaster*, and yet written *disastrous*, and not *disasterous*? The fact is, the Reviewer has *supposed* a rule on this subject which does not exist, namely, that if a word ends in *er*, and

has a formative, the *e* must enter into the formative. But we have numerous cases in which words ending in *er*, *or*, etc., do not retain the vowel in composition; as, for example, *hunter* from *hunt*, *actress* from *actor*, *ancestress* from *ancestor*, and a multitude of others. We could go on, adducing case after case directly in the teeth of our critic's principle. And yet this is the man who affects such contempt for Dr. Webster as to say he was ignorant of what every one but himself knew!

The Reviewer talks as though he supposed Webster was the only lexicographer who had ever put these fifteen or twenty words into a dictionary with the termination *er*. But this was done more than two centuries ago, by John Minsheu, in his great folio dictionary, entitled, "The Guide to Tongues." In this work, printed in the year 1617, the words in question are reduced to the English spelling in *er*, and this was also done in a number of dictionaries of foreign languages, about the same period. Phillips, the nephew of Milton, did the same in his "New World of English Words," in 1658. *Sepulcher*, *theater*, *miter*, etc., was the general spelling of the dictionaries of that day. It is a somewhat curious fact, that the word *scepter* came into our language from the first with the spelling *ter*, while almost every other word of the kind took the French form. In Wickliffe's Bible it was spelled *cepter*, and it retained its termination in *er* through all the versions to that of King James, inclusive; nor was it altered therein until a comparatively late period. Even Bailey gives *scepter* as the only proper spelling, while many of the other words stand in his pages in the same double form as in Webster's. The influence of French literature, after the restoration of Charles the Second, brought back the French form, which was adopted by Johnson. At the present day German literature is becoming more and more familiar to the English eye, and with it the Teutonic spelling in *er*, which belongs equally to the genius of that language and of ours.

The Reviewer exultingly produces the word *ogre*, as a "contradiction." This word came into our language from the East through the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and was so purely a foreign word as hardly to justify a change.

With regard to *acre*, *massacre*, and *lucre*, which are necessary exceptions, because of the liability of *c* before *e* to be pronounced like *s*, if this is an objection to *theater*, etc., where there is no such liability, it is equally an objection to *cider*, *tender*, etc. Shall we do nothing because we can not do every thing?

We may remark, while on this subject, that the derivatives of *center*, etc., proceed much more conveniently from the English form than from the French. Under the latter, we have such awkward derivatives as *centred*, *sceptred*, *sepulchred*, *reconnoitring*, etc. — words which are certainly more likely to be misunderstood and mispronounced than *centered*, *sceptered*, *sepulchered*, *reconnoitering*, etc. Milton and Pope seem to have been aware of this, and wrote *sceptered*, *centered*, etc. Sir Isaac Newton, Camden, Selden, and many of their contemporaries wrote *center*, *scepter*, etc. We have changed *diametre* to *diameter*. Why should we not write *meter* as well?

VII. *Foretell*, *fulfill*, *distill*, *instill*. The Reviewer gives as Webster's reason for this mode of spelling, that "the derivatives require the double *ll*." "Then, certainly," adds the Reviewer, "*forget*, *submit*, *begin*, *refer*, *concur*, *repel*, and so on, should be written *forgett*, *submitt*," etc. Here, by suppressing a portion of Webster's language, an erroneous impression is conveyed. The reason for the spelling is given in the following passage, which the critic ignores: "These words retain the *ll* of their primitives." And to show what primitives he means, Webster adds, "In this case it is only necessary to remember the rule, that the spelling of the original words *tell*, *still*, *fill*, is retained in all the

derivatives." But what English primitives are there, ending in a double consonant, which bear the same relation to *forget*, *submit*, etc., that *tell*, *still*, and *fill*, do to *foretell*, *fulfill*, *distill*, *instill*? The two cases are not analogous, and we have here another misrepresentation of Webster's actual language.

VIII. "*Practise*, the verb, should be spelled *practice*, because the noun is so spelled. *Drought* should be spelled *drouth*, because it is extensively so pronounced. *Height* should be spelled *hight*, because it was so spelled by Milton. *Ton* should be spelled *tun*, and *molasses*, *melasses*, because that spelling is more consistent with the etymologies. *Contemporary* should be spelled *cotemporary*, because it is more easily pronounced. *Plough* should be spelled *plow*, because that spelling more naturally represents the sound." These are not Webster's reasons, but the critic's disingenuous abstract of them. In regard to *practise*, Webster's "*because*" is clear and conclusive; the critic makes it weak and ridiculous. Webster says, "The distinction in spelling between the noun and the verb properly belongs only to words which are accented on the last syllable, as *device* and *devise*, where the verb has the sound of *ize*. The spelling *practise* tends to give it the same sound." He might have added, that the pronunciation being alike in noun and verb, persons who try to observe the distinction in writing are often puzzled to recollect which ought to have the *c* and which the *s*. By abolishing the unnecessary and misleading distinction, Webster has established a genuine reform.

Webster gives both *drought* and *drouth*. Under the former, he says, "The spelling *drought* is after the Belgic dialect; but the regular word, *drouth* or *drowth*, is still considerably used."

Webster approves *hight* because it is desirable that the noun should be thus regularly formed from the adjective *high*. If Milton (who wrote *highth*) may not be quoted in favor of the simpler form, because he wrote *ruine*, *onely*, etc., then Johnson ought not to be quoted as authority for any word, inasmuch as he wrote *physick*, *honour*, etc.

Tun is so spelled by Todd, Walker, Smart, Reid, and many other lexicographers. Both forms (*ton* and *tun*) are given by Webster. *Melasses* is given by Webster as the etymological spelling; *molasses* as that which usage has sanctioned. The word is defined only under the latter form; and in Webster's smaller Dictionaries *melasses* is not to be found.

Usage has long been equally divided between *contemporary* and *cotemporary*. They are both allowed by Johnson. Webster favors the latter form because it is more easily pronounced. But both spellings are found in their places.

Plow is a restoration of what was the original and preferable spelling. The termination *ow* has this advantage over *ough*: the latter has five different sounds, the former only two. *Plow*, *plowman* are the spelling of the English Bible in the day of King James to that of the last issue from the Oxford press. By spelling *plow* instead of *plough* we get rid of two superfluous letters. It is an economical change. In the United States it is rapidly prevailing.

Those tendencies which Webster saw in our language to greater simplicity and broader analogies, are set down by our critic as such as "it would puzzle any other philologist to discover." Yet this writer, so lavish in his charges of inconsistency and "reciprocal contradiction," has previously said, of the period between Johnson's and Webster's day, that "orthography was in a state of progress." Then what sort of progress was it? A progress to *less* simplicity and *narrower* analogies?

After telling us that "Webster, with all his plodding, could not hit upon the really weak points of the language," the Reviewer undertakes to enlighten us

as to what really *are* some of the weak points. We need give but one specimen of his qualifications. He tells us that "*episode* and *epitome* have the same etymology, yet one has three syllables and the other four." He might with just as much propriety say that *recipe* and *reside*, or that *chalk* and *cheese*, have "the same etymology." *Epitome* is from the same word (*ἐπιτομή*) in Greek, the final vowel being *eta*, and sufficiently indicating that the word has four syllables. *Episode* is from *episodion*, (*ἐπισόδιον*), and by the natural law of formation takes but three syllables. And yet this is the man who talks of Webster's "tampering with the language," and who throws out intimations against the "genuineness of his etymologies."

It is unnecessary for us to pursue this subject farther. The Reviewer says, that "Webster's much-vaunted reform is limited to about *eighty words* in a Dictionary containing *eighty thousand* words; being the proportion of one to a thousand." At one moment we have a sneer at Webster's "radicalism" and his "Newtonian law," and the next at his conservatism, and the insignificant number of his changes. We have seen that there is not one of Webster's rules, stigmatized as "arbitrary rules of his own creation" by the Reviewer, for which Webster did not produce ample authority in the past, and for which he did not give philosophical reasons. We have seen that in no one instance has the Reviewer established his charge that these rules "are ridiculous from their reciprocal contradictions." We have seen that in respect to the rule covering most of Webster's changes, (that regulating such words as *traveling*, *wordshiping*, etc.,) so far from venturing upon an "arbitrary rule," Webster simply protested against an arbitrary departure from rule. We have seen that the vague sneers at Webster's "ignorance" recoil with fatal precision, transformed into *unequivocal proofs*, on their utterer. We have seen that the critic's superciliousness becomes simply absurd, when we put his right of judgment to the test. If there is ever a show of speciousness in his objections, it is on the surface merely. It will not bear the probe.

It is easy, by garbling and misquoting language, to impart an appearance of inconsistency to rules which the entire context would explain. It is easy, by arguments thus based on premises made to suit the objection, and by the cheap rhetoric of sneers, to play the sagacious critic, and create a distrust of the truth. It is easy to assail a well-earned reputation; to represent a self-sacrificing diligence as mere "plodding," and to stigmatize as "assumption" that conscious mastery of a subject gained by years of exclusive study and devotion; but we have no fear that the fame of Noah Webster will be affected by such attacks. It has gone on increasing from year to year, wherever the English language is spoken. It illumines the first gropings in knowledge of many millions of children. It has received from the cumulative testimony of the first intellects of the age continual accessions of strength and honor. It has dignified American scholarship, and made American authority in the republic of letters more felt and respected. It is imperishably associated with the English language, and with the glory of the American people.

